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LIVY

BOOK XXI
AND
SELECTIONS
FROM THE OTHERS

EDDIE

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||| EDITED BY JAMES C. EGBERT, PH.D.

Professor of Latin, Columbia University

TITI LIVI
AB VRBE CONDITA



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0
L I V Y
THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

BOOK XXI
AND
SELECTIONS FROM BOOKS XXII-XXX

BY
JAMES C. EGBERT, PH.D.
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PREFACE

THIS book has been prepared with the definite purpose of placing in one volume the twenty-first book of Livy's History and those sections of the third decade describing the most important episodes of the Second Punic War. The selections, therefore, include the twenty-first book, the description of the battles of Lake Trasumennus and Cannae (Book XXII), the siege of Capua (Book XXVI), the battle of the River Metaurus (Book XXVII), the battle of Zama (Book XXX). The commentary is intended to be of direct and definite service to the students of the freshman class. No attempt has been made to furnish anything original, save in the method of presentation and in avoidance of notes, cross references and citations, which hinder rather than help. The editor does not regard the continual use of the lexicon as necessarily a valuable exercise. Assistance is therefore often given by supplying special meanings of words, particularly in the latter part of the book.

In the twenty-first book, attention is called to the manner in which Livy forms his sentences and chapters. Throughout the entire commentary there are occasional references to manuscript readings, so that students may form an acquaintance, however slight, with this side of classical study.

The text is mainly that of Weissenborn-M. Müller. The editor is indebted to the many editions which have preceded this, particularly to those of Weissenborn, Wölfflin, Riemann and Benoist, Riemann and Homolle, and also to the editions of Lease, Dimsdale, and Henry.

The proof has been read by Professor D. P. Lockwood, to whose scholarship and common sense much is due.

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INTRODUCTION

LIVY

THE Roman historian, Titus Livius, was born at Patavium (Padua), the chief city of Venetia, in B.C. 59, a critical period in Roman history, for in that year Julius Caesar held his first consulship. Livy was born of a noble family and was trained in philosophy, rhetoric, and literature. Belonging by birth to a town which traced its traditional history to Antenor, the friend of Aeneas, Livy was a Paduan at heart and sympathized with the old independent spirit of Italy. Nevertheless he was a Roman and gloried in all that had been accomplished by the people of Rome and those associated with them. In his youth and young manhood he had become familiar with the struggle for liberty which preceded the battle of Actium, and hence was a republican in spirit. In B.C. 29, or somewhat later, he came to Rome and made that city his permanent home. Augustus became his friend, but styled him a Pompeian because it was known that he admired Brutus and Cassius and questioned the value of Caesar to his country; but it is evident that Livy was satisfied with the Imperial Government as it existed under Augustus. After the accession of Tiberius, Livy returned to Patavium, where he died in A.D. 17, having survived Augustus by three years.

Livy's Writings.—Seneca in his letters (100.9) refers to certain dialogues of a philosophical and rhetorical

character, and Quintilian (x., 1. 39) mentions a letter in which Livy urges his son to study the speeches of Demosthenes and Cicero. These, however, have disappeared. Livy's great work, according to the grammarians and the manuscripts, was entitled *Ab urbe condita libri*, but he began with Aeneas, and in xliii., 13. 2 he speaks of his history loosely as *annales*. In his preface, however, he declares that he began with the founding of the city, and we must remember that *annales* is a general term. He began writing his history about B.C. 26. It is evident that the work appeared in sections of a varying number of books. There were originally one hundred and forty-two books, of which thirty-five are extant. At the beginning of Books vi., xxi., and xxxi., we find prefaces to the new portions, for Book v. ends with the burning of Rome by the Gauls; Book xvi. began the First Punic War; Book xxi., the Second Punic War; Book xxxi., the Macedonian Wars. These facts led the copyists to refer to a division into decades, *i.e.* groups of ten books, which are first mentioned at the close of the fifth century. Therefore, some have believed in a publication of decades or semi-decades, but it is just as convenient to divide the forty-five books into groups of fifteen; thus, i.-xv., Aeneas to Punic Wars; xvi.-xxx., Punic Wars; xxxi.-xl., Macedonian Wars. The thirty-five extant books give the first, third, fourth, and half of the fifth decade; the i.-x., Aeneas to the end of the Second Samnite War (293 B.C.); xxi.-xl., the Second Punic War to the end of the Third Macedonian War (167 B.C.). Books xli. and xliii. are not complete. We have a page or so of Book xci. and a fragment of cxx. and brief summaries, *periochae*, of all the books except cxxxvi. and cxxxvii.;

also epitomes written by Eutropius, Rufius Festus, and Orosius, and *prodigia*, which were collected by Julius Obsequens. It is evident that Livy did not finish his history, for the *periochae* show that B.C. 9 is the last year referred to. This was the date of the death of Drusus, an event not of sufficient importance to close a great history; hence it is probable that the entire history would have required one hundred and fifty books. The death of Augustus, in A.D. 14, might have marked the end of such a work. It is noticeable that Livy expanded the scale of his work as he proceeded, for the first ten books covered four and a half centuries; to treat of fifty years, from the Second Punic War to the close of the Macedonian, required twenty-five books, and the remaining ninety-seven books covered one hundred and fifty-eight years, — a little more than a year for each book.

Authorities. — In his account of the Second Punic War Livy relied upon several writers as authorities, but principally upon Polybius, either directly or indirectly. Polybius was a Greek who had been brought to Rome in 169 B.C. as one of the hostages from the Achaean League. He wrote in Greek a Universal History, which extended from the beginning of the Second Punic War to the destruction of Carthage in 146. Of the original forty books the first five and fragments are extant. This work Livy used in the third and fourth decades, although he speaks of this author first in xxx., 45; and only five times in all. Polybius was an exact and critical writer.

Livy also used certain early Roman historians, styled annalists because their writings were mere records of events (*annales*). The first of these, Q. Fabius Pictor, — who lived in the time of the Second Punic War, — scrip-

torum antiquissimus according to Livy i., 44. 2,—wrote *annales* in Greek which began with Aeneas and ended with the close of the Second Punic War (xxii., 7. 4; 57. 5). Another was L. Cincius Alimentus, *propraetor* of Sicily 210–208 B.C., who also wrote in Greek. Having been a prisoner in Hannibal's camp, he knew of the Carthaginians by actual contact (xxi., 38. 2). Valerius Antias of the time of Sulla wrote, in Latin, *annales* in seventy-five books covering Roman history from the earliest times to his own period. He was not an accurate writer, and it is unfortunate that Livy relied upon him. He quotes Antias thirty-five times but questions his accuracy in later books. L. Coelius Antipater, referred to three times in xxi., 38. 7; 46. 10; 47. 4, and once in xxii., 31. 8, lived in the early part of the first century B.C. He composed, in Latin, an interesting history of the Second Punic War in seven books, using as an authority Silenus, a Greek historian who wrote with a pro-Carthaginian spirit. He was a man of culture, and his style showed a marked improvement over that of the early annalists, so that he is favorably mentioned by Cicero, *Brutus*, 102; *De Oratore*, ii. 54. Of the writings of these annalists we have only fragments now extant. M. Porcius Cato, 234–149 B.C., who is styled the Father of Latin prose, because he first wrote Roman history in Latin, was apparently disregarded as an authority by Livy, who quotes him once (xxxiv., 15), and declares that Cato would not dim his own glory when mentioning the number slain in battle. Livy might have used Cato's great historical work, the *Origines*, which from the fourth to the seventh book gave a history of Rome from the First Punic War to his own time. There are various theories as to just how the

information given by these writers reached the pages of Livy.

Livy the Historian. — We cannot speak highly of Livy as a scientific historian, for he does not always use the best authorities, nor does he strive to obtain the correct account, and he often subordinates historical accuracy to his pro-Roman spirit or to his desire to give an effective description. It must be remembered, however, that Livy was writing an ethical and not a critical history. He is the great national historian, just as Vergil is the great national poet. He has given us, as Niebuhr says, "a colossal masterpiece." Though not a critical writer, he is preëminent in matters of style; following Cicero, he has nevertheless been influenced by Latin poetry and by the prose of Sallust, and has produced a style noteworthy in its ease of expression and its adaptability to the purpose of prose description. He is nearer Cicero in his third and fourth decades than in the first, where he is a writer of the Silver Age. Livy's style represents the first modification from the standard Latin prose of Cicero and Caesar, — the prose of the Republic, — and as a stylist he is a forerunner of Tacitus. Thus the student may notice unfamiliar forms and words. These often come from early Latin or again from the language of everyday life, where an archaic vocabulary lingers, or again, from poetry, which likewise provides expressions and constructions not found in Ciceronian prose. Livy did not hesitate to employ colloquialisms and borrow syntactical usages from the Greek, and his Latin shows extensions of the language — customs established by Cicero. Livy thus does much for Latin, making it a more useful language, and giving it greater scope and power of expression. In this he has

not employed words or phrases in a haphazard way, but he is an artist in the use of language, a stylist of the first rank who knew the power of rhetoric to attract and captivate. Asinius Pollio, according to Quintilian (i. 5., 56 and viii., 1. 3), charged Livy with "Patavinitas," a word derived from the name of his birthplace, Patavium. What this implied is not clear, but it may refer to his style in general or to his use of provincialisms, or again, to his generally unrestrained and enthusiastic way of speaking. In the early books Livy shows the influence of the annalistic records from which he drew his information, but in the third decade he is a masterly and brilliant writer. His speeches, which do not reproduce the exact words of the speaker, and are intended to represent his character and motives, are remarkable specimens of artistic writing.

Rome and Carthage. — The twenty-first and twenty-second books deal with events from 218–216 B.C., the early years of the Second Punic War. The Carthaginians were Phoenicians who had settled on the northern coast of Africa, and established a colony on what is now the Bay of Tunis, which they called Carthage, "New City," in contradistinction to Utica, an earlier colony. They soon acquired control of the shores of the western Mediterranean (*i.e.* of Africa, Spain, and Sicily) and of adjacent islands. In 348 B.C. they made a treaty with the Romans that the latter's traders should not sail along the coast of Africa west of Promontorium Hermaeum (modern Cape Bon); and in return, Carthage was not to interfere with the allies of Rome or with Roman trade elsewhere. A second treaty (306 B.C.), renewed that made forty years earlier. In 279, when Pyrrhus threatened to invade Sicily and Italy, the two rivals temporarily formed an alliance

against the common enemy, but when he had been driven off, the Romans were ready to push their cause in Sicily. The opportunity came in the irregular war which some freebooters from Campania, — Mamertines, who had seized Messina, — were carrying on against Hiero of Syracuse, who had called the Carthaginians to his assistance. The Mamertines appealed to Rome for help, and on this pretext the Romans entered Sicily in 264, and were thus brought face to face with their rivals. They claimed that a Carthaginian fleet had appeared off Tarentum in 272, and they offered this as an excuse for violating the treaty. This First Punic War (264–241) witnessed the first naval victory of the Romans — that of Mylae — under Duilius. The Romans were finally victorious in the battle of the Aegates Insulae, 241 B.C., under C. Lutatius Catulus, and drove the Carthaginians out of Sicily. Hamilcar Barca, the Carthaginian general who had held the fortress of Mount Eryx, agreed to the terms that Carthage should yield Sicily and pay 2200 talents in twenty years. This was subsequently changed by the Romans to 3200 talents in ten years. In the war Carthage had employed mercenaries. These now arose against her, joined themselves to the Libyans, or African dependencies, and carried on a fierce war for more than three years. The Romans took advantage of the plight of the Carthaginians and seized Sardinia. To this extraordinary behavior the Carthaginians objected and prepared to sail for Sardinia, but when the Romans declared war, the Carthaginians were compelled to withdraw and yield Sardinia and to pay as a fine for protesting, 1200 talents. All these events aroused the fierce hatred of Hamilcar, the member of the Barca family then in favor in Carthage. This brings us to the

opening of Book xxi., which begins with a description of the plans of Hamilcar for vengeance, and his intentions as to his son-in-law Hasdrubal and son Hannibal.

Manuscripts and Editions. — The manuscripts from which we obtain a knowledge of the third decade of Livy's history are very numerous, but we rely chiefly on *P*, *i.e.* Codex Puteanus, dating from the sixth century and numbered 5730 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. As the first portion of this manuscript is missing, there remain of Book xxi., chapters 20. 8–21. 13; 29. 6; 30. 11; and from 41. 13 on. Hence for Book xxi. we also use *C*, *i.e.* Codex Colbertinus of the Bibliothèque Nationale, dating in the tenth or eleventh century, and the Mediceus (*M*), eleventh century, of the Laurentian library at Florence. These three manuscripts, with others of later date, and with early editions, — *e.g.* Editio Frobeniana (1531), which gave us readings of a lost codex, — furnish us with the text of the third decade. The earliest printed edition is dated in Rome, 1469, but the first critical edition is that of J. F. Gronovius of Leyden (1645). There are many modern editions of various parts of Livy's History. The complete annotated edition of Weissenborn, revised by H. J. Mueller, Teubner, Leipsic, is the most useful. This appears in parts, new editions continually replacing the old. There are a number of excellent editions in English of xxi.–xxii., which are furnished with an elaborate introduction and commentary. The best known of these are by Lord (Boston, 1892); by Greenough and Peck (Boston, 1893); by Westcott (Boston, 1904); by Lease (New York, 1905).

For a study of the syntax and style of Livy, the most convenient essay is found in Lease's Livy mentioned above. The most elaborate work is Riemann,

Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Tite-Live (Paris, 1885).

Taine's *Essai sur Tite Live* (Paris, 1888) is important for one desiring to gain an appreciation of Livy as a writer.

For the route over the Alps, the student may consult *The Romans on the Riviera and the Rhone*, by W. H. Bullock Hall (London, 1898); and an article by G. E. Marindin, "Hannibal's Route over the Alps," *Classical Review*, xiii. (1899), p. 238. An important recent study of this question is, *Der Hannibalweg*, Osiander (Berlin, 1900).

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For the battle of the Trebia and Lake Trasumennus, see *Journal of Philology*, 1896, p. 83, and 1897, p. 112.

For Carthage and Hannibal consult *Carthage and the Carthaginians*, R. B. Smith (London, 1879); *Rome and Carthage*, R. B. Smith (London, 1893); *Hannibal*, T. A. Dodge (Boston, 1893); *Hannibal*, W. O. Morris (New York, 1897). G. Flaubert's *Salammbô* (Paris, 1863) gives in the form of a novel a description of the Mercenary War.

TITI LIVI
AB VRBE CONDITA
LIBER XXI

1. In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in prin- 1
cipio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scrip-
tores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae umquam
gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Car-
thaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque 2
validiores opibus ullae inter se civitates gentesque con-
tulerunt arma neque his ipsis tantum umquam virium
aut roboris fuit, et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese sed
expertas primo Punico conferebant bello, et adeo varia
fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit ut propius periculum
fuerint qui vicerunt. Odiis etiam prope maioribus certa- 3
runt quam viribus, Romanis indignantibus, quod victori-
bus victi ultro inferrent arma, Poenis, quod superbe
avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse. Fama est 4
etiam Hannibalem, annorum ferme novem, pueriliter
blandientem patri Hamilcari ut duceretur in Hispaniam,
cum perfecto Africo bello exercitum eo traiecturus sacri-
ficaret, altaribus admotum tactis sacris iure iurando
adactum, se cum primum posset hostem fore populo
Romano. Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia 5
Sardiniaque amissae: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri des-
peratione rerum concessam et Sardiniam inter motum

Africae fraude Romanorum stipendio etiam insuper imposito interceptam. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit ut appareret maius eum quam quod gereret, agitare in animo bellum et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italiae illaturos fuisse, quae Hannibalis ductu intulerunt.

Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore aetatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinæ opibus, quae apud milites plebemque plus quam modicae erant, haud sane voluntate principum in imperio positus. Is plura consilio quam vi gerens hospitibus magis regulorum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginensem auxit. Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit: barbarus eum quidam palam ob iram interfecti ab eo domini obruncavit, comprehensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio, quam si evasisset, vultu, tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris ut, superante laetitia dolores, ridentis etiam speciem praeberit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit quin praerogativam militarem, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium clamore

atque adsensu appellatus erat, favor plebis sequeretur. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se accersierat 2 actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat. Barcinis nitentibus ut adsuaderet militiae Hannibal atque in paternas succederet opes, Hanno alterius factionis princeps 'Et aequum 3 postulare videtur' inquit 'Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo, quod petit, tribuendum.' Cum admiratione tam 4 ancipitis sententiae in se omnis convertisset, 'Florem aetatis' inquit 'Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum praebuit, iusto iure eum a filio repeti censeo; nos tamen minime decet iuventutem nostram pro militari rudimento adsuefacere libidini praetorum. An hoc time- 5 mus, ne Hamilcaris filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem videat, et, cuius regis genero hereditarii sint relictis exercitus nostri, eius filio parum mature serviamus?' Ego istum iuvenem domi tenendum sub 6 legibus, sub magistratibus, docendum vivere aequo iure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet.' Pauci ac ferme (optimus quis- 4 que? Hannoni adsentiebantur; sed, ut plerumque fit, maior pars meliorem vicit.)

(Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit: Hamilcarem iuvenem 2 redditum sibi veteres milites credere; eundem vigorem in vultu vimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein brevi effecit, ut pater in se minimum momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. Numquam 3 ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilis fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset: neque 4 Hasdrubal alium quemquam praeficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio

5 duce plus confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciae ad
pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa peri-
cula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus
6 vinci poterat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi
potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate modus
finitus; vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discrimi-
7 nata tempora: id, quod gerendis rebus superesset, quieti
datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio accersita;
multi saepe militari sagulo opertum humi iacentem inter
8 custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vestitus
nihil inter aequales excellens; arma atque equi conspi-
ciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat;
princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio excede-
9 bat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant:
inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil
veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum,
10 nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum
triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit nulla re, quae
agenda videndaque magno futuro duci esset, praetermissa.
5 Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia ei
provincia decreta bellumque Romanum mandatum esset,
2 nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamil-
carem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis
opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus
3 oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur,
in Olcadum prius fines — ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte
magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium erat — induxit
exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie
finitimis domitis gentibus iungendoque tractus ad id
4 bellum videri posset. Cartalam urbem opulentam, caput
gentis eius, expugnat diripitque; quo metu percussae
minores civitates stipendio **imposito** imperium acceperere.

Victor exercitus opulentusque praeda Carthaginem Novam
in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large partiendo praedam 5
stipendioque praeterito cum fide exsolvendo cunctis
civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis vere primo in
Vaccaeos promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala, 6
eorum urbes, vi captae. Arbocala et virtute et multi-
tudine oppidanorum diu defensa. Ab Hermandica pro- 7
fugi exulibus Olcadum, priore aestate domitae gentis, cum
se iunxissent, concitant Carpetanos, adortique Hanni- 8
balem regressum ex Vaccaeis haud procul Tago flumine
agmen grave praeda turbavere. Hannibal proelio absti- 9
nuit, castrisque super ripam positis, cum prima quies
silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, amnem vado traiecit vallo-
que ita producto ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes
haberent, invadere eos transeuntes statuit. Equitibus 10
praecipit ut, cum ingressos aquam viderent, adorirentur
impeditum agmen; in ripa elephantos — quadraginta
autem erant — disponit. Carpetanorum cum appendi- 11
cibus Olcadum Vaccaeorumque centum milia fuere,
invicta acies, si aequo dimicaretur campo. Itaque et 12
ingenio feroces et multitudine freti et, quod metu ces-
sisse credebant hostem, id morari victoriam rati quod
interesset amnis, clamore sublato passim sine ullius
imperio, qua cuique proximum est, in amnem ruunt.
Et ex parte altera ripae vis ingens equitum in flumen 13
immissa medioque alveo haudquaquam pari certamine
concursum, quippe ubi pedes instabilis ac vix vado fidens 14
vel ab inermi equite equo temere acto perverti posset,
eques corpore armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites
stabili, comminus eminusque rem gereret. Pars magna 15
flumine absumpta; quidam verticoso amni delati in hostis
ab elephantis obtriti sunt. Postremi, quibus regressus in 16

- suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepidatione cum in unum colligerentur, priusquam a tanto pavore reciperent animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit vastatisque agris intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in deditionem accepit. Et iam omnia trans Hiberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginensium erant.
- 6 Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, ceterum iam belli causa certamina cum finitimis serebantur, maxime 2 Turdetanis. Quibus cum adesset idem, qui litis erat sator, nec certamen iuris sed vim quaeri appareret, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum iam haud 3 dubie imminens orantes. Consules tunc Romae erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Qui cum legatis in senatum introductis de re publica rettulissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res 4 sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si videretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam traicerent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent, 5 — hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe celerius Saguntum oppugnari allatum est. Tunc relata 6 de integro res ad senatum; et alii provincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intendebant bellum; erant, qui non temere movendam rem tantam exspectandosque ex Hispania 8 legatos censerent. Haec sententia, quae tutissima videbatur, vicit, legatique eo maturius missi P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tamphilus Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deposcendum. 7 Dum ea Romani parant, consultantque, iam Sagun-

tum summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea longe opulenta
tissima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a
mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique
etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis; ceterum
in tantas brevi creverant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus
fructibus seu multitudinis incremento seu disciplinae
sanctitate, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem
suam coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus
fines pervastatis passim agris urbem tripertito adgre-
ditur. Angulus muri erat in planiorem patentioremq;
quam cetera circa vallem vergens. Adversus eum
vineas agere instituit, per quas aries moenibus admoveri
posset. Sed ut locus procū muro satis aequus agendis
vineis fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad
effectum operis ventum est, coeptis succedebat. Et
turris ingens imminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco,
supra ceterae modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et iuventus
delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur,
ibi vi maiore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus
submovere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus
pati; deinde iam non pro moenibus modo atque turri
tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes
operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuariis
certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam
Poeni. Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius
subit, adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit,
tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut non multum abesset,
quin opera ac vineae desererentur. Obsidio deinde
per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit, dum vulnus
ducis curaretur. Per quod tempus ut quies certaminum
erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil
cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro coortum est

bellum, pluribusque partibus, vix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis, vineae coeptae agi admoventique aries.

3 Abundabat multitudo hominum Poenus; ad centum quinquaginta milia habuisse in armis satis creditur;

4 oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam

5 distineri coepti non sufficebant. Itaque iam feriebantur arietibus muri quassataeque multae partes erant; una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem: tres deinceps turres quantumque inter eas muri erat cum fra-

6 gore ingenti prociderant. Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni, qua, velut si pariter utrosque murus

7 texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariae pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius conseri solent, sed iustae acies velut patenti campo inter ruinas muri tectaue urbis modico distantia intervallo constite-

8 rant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos irritat, Poenocepisse iam se urbem, si paulum adnitatur, credente, Saguntinis pro nudata moenibus patria corpora opponentibus nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum a se

9 locum hostem immitteret. Itaque quo acius et confertim magis utrimque pugnabant, eo plures vulnerabantur nullo inter arma corporaque vano intercidente

10 telo. Phalarica erat Saguntinis missile telum hastili abiegno et cetera tereti praeterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum exstabat; id, sicut in pilo, quadratum stупpa circumligabant lineabantque pice; ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiam si haesisset in scuto nec penetrasset

12 in corpus, pavorem faciebat, quod, cum medium accensum mitteretur conceptumque ipso motu multo maiorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogebat nudumque militem ad

insequentes ictus praebebat. (Cum diu anceps fuisset ⁹) certamen et Saguntinis, quia praeter spem resisterent, crevisset animi, Poenus, quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, 2 clamorem repente oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde impeditum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt. 3

Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale qui dicerent nec tuto eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operae esse legationes audire. Apparebat non admissos 4 protinus Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad principes factionis Barcinæ praemittit ut praepararent suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari populo Romano posset. Itaque, praeterquam quod ad- 10 missi auditique sunt, ea quoque vana atque irrita legatio fuit. Hanno unus adversus senatum causam foederis 2 magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam, non cum adsensu audientium egit, per deos foederum arbitros ac 3 testes senatum obtestans, ne Romanum cum Saguntino suscitarent bellum; monuisse, praedixisse se, ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent; non manes, non stirpem eius conquiescere viri, nec umquam, donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit, quietura Romana foedera. 'Juvenem flagrantem cupidine 4 regni viamque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut materiam igni praebentes ad exercitum misistis. Aluistis ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum vestri 5 circumsedent exercitus, unde arcentur foedere; mox Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanae legiones ducibus isdem diis, per quos priore bello rupta foedera sunt ulti.

6 Utrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque populi
ignoratis? legatos ab sociis et pro sociis venientes bonus
imperator vester in castra non admisit, ius gentium sus-
tulit; hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem legati arcentur
pulsī, ad vos venerunt; res ex foedere repetunt; ut
7 publica fraus absit, auctorem culpae et reum criminis
deposcunt. Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt, eo, cum
coeperint, vereor. ne perseverantius saeviant. Aegates
insulas Erycemque ante oculos proponite quae terra
8 marique per quattuor et viginti annos passi sitis. Nec
puer hic dux erat, sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut
isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstinueramus
ex foedere, sicut nunc Sagunto non abstinemus. Vicerunt
9 ergo dii homines, et id de quo verbis ambigebatur,
uter populus foedus rupisset, eventus belli velut aequus
10 iudex, unde ius stabat ei victoriam dedit. Carthagini
nunc Hannibal vineas turresque admovet, Carthaginis
moenia quatit ariete: Sagunti ruinae — falsus utinam
vates sim — nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque cum
11 Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est. Dede-
mus ergo Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. Scio meam levem
esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias; sed
et Hamilcarem eo perisse laetatus sum, quod, si ille vive-
ret, bellum iam haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc iuve-
nem tamquam furiam facemque huius belli odi ac detestor;
12 nec dedendum solum ad piaculum rupti foederis, sed, si
nemo deposceret, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarum-
que oras, ablegandum eo, unde nec ad nos nomen fama-
que eius accidere neque ille sollicitare quietae civitatis statum
13 posset. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mit-
tendos qui senatui satisfaciant, alios qui Hannibali
nuntient ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque

Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant; tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno.' Cum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare oratione cum 11 eo necesse fuit: adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat; infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium legatum Romanum. Responsum inde 2 legatis Romanis est, bellum ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse; populum Romanum iniuste facere si Saguntinos vetustissimae Carthaginiensium societati praeponat.

Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, 3 Hannibal, quia fessum militem proeliis operibusque habebat, paucorum iis dierum quietem dedit stationibus ad custodiam vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostis stimulando, nunc spe praemiorum accendit; ut vero pro contione 4 praedam captae urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videretur posse. Saguntini ut a proeliis quietem 5 habuerant nec lacessentes nec lacessiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte, non die umquam cessaverant ab opere ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficerent. Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto 6 atrocior quam ante adorta est, nec, qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, cum omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire poterant. Ipse Hannibal, 7 qua turris mobilis omnia munimenta urbis superans altitudine agebatur, hortator aderat. Quae cum admota catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata dispositis muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal occasionem 8 ratus quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo murum mittit. Nec erat difficile opus,

quod caementa non calce durata erant, sed interlita luto
9 structurae antiquo genere. Itaque latius quam qua
caederetur, ruebat, perque patentia ruinas agmina arma-
10 torum in urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capi-
unt collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum
in ipsa urbe velut arcem imminens haberent, muro
circumdant; et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum
11 capta parte urbis ducunt. Utrumque summa vi et muni-
unt et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies
12 urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium
longa obsidione et minuitur expectatio externae opis,
cum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hos-
13 tium essent. Paulisper tamen adfectos animos recreavit
repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetan-
osque, qui duo populi dilectus acerbitate consternati
retentis conquisitoribus metum defectionis cum prae-
buissem, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota
12 arma. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat Maharbale
Himilconis filio — eum praefecerat Hannibal — ita im-
pigre rem agente ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes
2 sentirent. Is et proelia aliquot secunda fecit et tribus
arietibus aliquantum muri discussit strataque omnia
3 recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit. Itaque
ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atroxque
proelium cum multorum utrimque caede initum et pars
arcis capta est.

Temptata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem
4 Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco insciis Sagunti-
nis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus, cum ad Hannibalem
noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae movebant con-
dicioesque tristes ut ab irato victore ferebantur, trans-
fuga ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum

adfirmans, qui sub condicionibus iis de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, redderent res Turdetanis traditoque 5 omni auro atque argento egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habitarent ubi Poenus iussisset. Has pacis 6 leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos ubi alia vincantur adfirmans, se pacis eius interpretem fore pollicetur; erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium transgressus muni- 7 menta ad praetorem Saguntinum — et ipse ita iubebat — est deductus. Quo cum extemplo concursus omnis generis 8 hominum esset factus, summoti cetera multitudine senatus Alorco datus est, cuius talis oratio fuit: ‘Si civis 13 vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab Hannibale ad vos rettulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos veni; sed cum ille aut vestra 2 aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem — sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus, — ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni. Vestra autem causa me nec ullius 3 alterius loqui, quae loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod neque dum vestris viribus restitistis neque dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis, pacis umquam apud vos mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla est spes nec 4 vestra vos iam aut arma aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem adfero ad vos magis necessariam quam aequam. Cuius ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quem ad modum ut 5 victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audietis, et non id quod amittitur in damno, cum omnia victoris sint, sed, quidquid relinquitur pro munere habituri estis. Urbem 6

- vobis, quam ex magna parte dirutam, captam fere totam habet, adimit, argos relinquit, locum adsignaturus, in quo novum oppidum aedificetis. Aurum et argentum omne
- 7 publicum privatumque ad se iubet deferri; corpora vestra, coniugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire.
- 8 Haec victor hostis imperat; haec, quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei facta sit, aliquid
- 9 ex his [rebus] remissurum; sed vel haec patienda censeo potius, quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi trahique ante
- 10 ora vestra coniuges ac liberos belli iure sinatis.'
- 11 Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim multitudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores secessionem facta, priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum collatum in ignem ad id raptim factum conicientes
- 2 eodem plerique semet ipsi praecipitaverunt. Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat, perque ruinam eius cohors Poenorum impetu facto cum signum imperatori dedisset nudatam stationibus custo-
- 3 diisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal totis viribus adgressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato, ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium crudele, ceterum prope
- 4 necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est. Cui enim parci potuit ex iis qui aut inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremaverunt aut armati nullum
- 15 ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt? Captum oppidum est cum ingenti praeda. Quamquam pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta erant et in caedibus vix

ullum discrimen aetatis ira fecerat et captivi militum praeda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum venditarum ² aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse constat et multam pretiosam suppellectilem vestemque missam Carthaginem.

Octavo mense quam coeptum oppugnari, captum Sa- ³ guntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem Novam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde mense quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse. Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit, ut P. Cornelius Ti. ⁴ Sempronius consules fuerint ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam, pugnaverint. Aut omnia ⁵ breviora aliquanto fuere aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non coeptum oppugnari est, sed captum. Nam excessisse ⁶ pugna ad Trebiam {in annum Cn. Servili et C. Flamini) non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consulatum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad ¹ Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

² Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Car- ¹⁶ thagine, Romam rettulerunt omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; tantusque simul maeror ² patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indigne et pudor non latius auxilii et ira in Carthaginenses metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si iam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consulerent: nam neque hostem acriorem ³ bellicosiorumque secum congressum nec rem Romanam tam ⁴ desideratam umquam fuisse atque imbellem. Sardos ⁴ Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios lacessisse magis quam

exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum
5 verius quam belligeratum; Poenū hostem veteranum
trium et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas
gentes, semper victorem, duci acerrimo aduetum, re-
centem ab excidio opulentissimae urbis Hiberum transire,
6 trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos, concit-
urum avidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes: cum orbe
terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus
Romanis esse.

- 17 Nominatae iam antea consulibus provinciae erant;
tum sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa
2 cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretae legiones
et socium quantum ipsis videretur et classis quanta parari
3 posset. Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum milia
scripta et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quadraginta
milia peditum, quattuor milia et quadringenti equites;
4 naves ducentae viginti quinqueres, celeres viginti
deducti. Latum inde ad populum, vellent iuberent populo
Carthaginensi bellum indici; eiusque belli causa suppli-
catio per urbem habita atque adorati dii, ut bene ac
feliciter eveniret quod bellum populus Romanus iussisset.
5 Inter consules ita copiae divisae: Sempronio datae
legiones duae — ea quaterna milia erant peditum et
trecenti equites — et sociorum sedecim milia peditum,
equites mille octingenti, naves longae centum sexaginta,
6 celeres duodecim. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque
copiis Ti. Sempronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam
transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italia Poenum consul
7 alter satis esset. Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia
L. Manlius praetor et ipse cum haud invalido praesidio
8 in Galliam mittebatur; navium maxime Cornelio nume-
rus deminutus: sexaginta quinqueres datae — neque

enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant — et duae Romanae legiones cum sud iusto equitatu et quattuordecim milibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sescentis. Duas legiones Romanas 9 et decem milia sociorum peditum, mille equites socios, sescentos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit.

His ita comparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum fierent, legatos maiores natu Q. Fabium M. Livium L. Aemilium C. Licinium Q. Baebium in Africam mittunt ad percunctandos Carthaginienses, publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani 3 postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum, quod mandatum erat, percunctatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: 'Praecepta vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposcebatis; ceterum haec legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur 5 et deposcebatur; nunc ab nobis et confessio culpae exprimitur et ut a confessis res extemplo repetuntur. Ego autem non privato publicone consilio Saguntum 6 oppugnatum sit quaerendum censeam, sed utrum iure an iniuria. Nostra enim haec quaestio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio; vobiscum una disceptatio est, licueritne per foedus fieri. Itaque, quoniam discerni placet quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum foedus est a C. Lutatio consule ictum, in quo cum caveretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis —

- 9 necdum enim erant socii vestri — cautum est. At enim
eo foedere, quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est, Saguntini
excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum, nisi
10 quod a vobis didici. Vos enim quod C. Lutatius consul
primo nobiscum foedus icit, quia neque ex auctoritate
patrum nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri;
itaque aliud de integro foedus publico consilio ictum est.
- 11 Si vos non tenent foedera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut
iussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis foedus, quod
12 nobis insciis icit, obligare potuit. Proinde omittite
Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere, et, quod diu
13 parturit animus vester, aliquando pariat.' Tum Romanus
sinu ex toga facto 'Hic' inquit 'vobis bellum et pacem
portamus: utrum placet, sumite.' Sub hanc vocem haud
minus ferociter, daret utrum vellet, succlamatum est.
- 14 Et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere
se omnes responderunt et, quibus acciperent animis,
isdem se gesturos.
- 15 Haec directa percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli magis
ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum
iure verbis disceptare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto
2 excisa. Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset, quid
foedus Hasdrubalis cum Lutati priore foedere, quod
3 mutatum est, comparandum erat, cum in Lutati foe-
dere diserte additum esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus
censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale
quicquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo
comprobatum sit foedus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore
4 quicquam mutaretur? Quamquam, et si priore foedere
staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis sociis utrorumque
exceptis. Nam neque additum erat 'iis qui tunc essent'
5 nec 'ne qui postea adsumerentur'; et cum adsumere

novos liceret socios, quis aequum censeret aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi aut receptos in fidem non defendi? Tantum ne Carthaginiensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua sponte desciscentes reciperentur.

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae imperatum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates et in societatem perlicerent aut averterent a Poenis, traiecerunt. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt, a quibus benigne excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos trans Hiberum populos ad cupidinem novae fortunae erexerunt. Ad Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in concilio respondit: 'Quae verecundia est, Romani, postulare vos uti vestram Carthaginiensium amicitiae praeponamus, cum, qui id fecerunt [Saguntini], crudelius, quam Poenus hostis perdidit, vos socii prodideritis? Ibi quaeratis socios censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est; Hispanis populis sicut lugubre ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinae erunt, ne quis fidei Romanae aut societati confidat.' Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum iussi ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniae benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequiquam peragrata Hispania in Galliam transeunt. In iis nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati — ita mos gentis erat — in concilium venerunt. Cum verbis extollentes gloriam virtutemque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent ne Poeno bellum Italiae inferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum darent, tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistratibus maioribusque natu iuventus sedaretur; adeo stolidi impudens

- postulatio visa est censere, ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id avertere in se agrosque suos pro
5 alienis populandos obicere. Sedato tandem fremitu responsum legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginiensium iniuriam, ob quae aut pro
6 Romanis aut adversus Poenos sumant arma; contra ea audire sese, gentis suae homines agro finibusque Italiae pelli a populo Romano stipendiumque pendere et cetera
7 indigna pati. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae conciliis dicta auditaque; nec hospitale quicquam pacatumve
8 satis prius auditum quam Massiliam venere. Ibi omnia ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita: praeoccupatos iam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore — adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse, — ni subinde auro, cuius avidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur.
9 Ita peragratis Hispaniae Galliaeque populis legati Romanam redeunt haud ita multo post quam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem expectatione belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante fama iam Hiberum Poenos transisse.
- 21 Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem Novam in hiberna concesserat; ibique auditis quae Romae quaeque Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non ducem
2 solum sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis divenditisque reliquiis praedae nihil ultra differendum ratus Hispani
3 generis milites convocat. ‘Credo ego vos’ inquit, ‘socii, et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus Hispaniae populis aut finiendam nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos esse
4 aut in alias terras transferendum bellum; ita enim haec gentes non pacis solum sed etiam victoriae bonis florēbunt, si ex aliis gentibus praedam et gloriam quaeremus.

Itaque cum longinqua a domo instet militia incertumque sit, quando domos vestras et quae cuique ibi cara sunt visuri sitis, si quis vestrum suos invisere volt, commeatum do. Primo vere edico adsitis, ut diis bene iuvantibus bellum ingentis gloriae praedaeque futurum incipiamus.' 7 Omnibus fere visendi domos oblata ultro potestas grata erat, et iam desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus desiderium. Per totum tempus hiemis 8 quies inter labores aut iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit corpora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda. Vere primo ad edictum convenere.

Hannibal, cum recensuisset omnium gentium auxilia, 9 Gadis profectus Herculi vota exsolvit novisque se obligat votis, si cetera prospera evenissent. Inde partiens 10 curas simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere Italiam peteret, nuda apertaue Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido praesidio firmare eam statuit. Pro 11 eo supplementum ipse ex Africa maxime iaculatorum, levium armis, petiit, ut Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pignëribus obligati, stipendia facerent. Tredecim milia octingentos quinquaginta pedites ca- 12 tratos misit in Africam et funditores Baleares octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini praesidio esse, 13 partim distribui per Africam iubet. Simul conquisitoribus in civitates missis quattuor milia conscripta delectae iuventutis, praesidium eosdem et obsides, duci Carthaginem iubet. Neque Hispaniam neglegendam ratus, 22 atque id eo minus, quod haud ignarus erat circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad sollicitandos principum ani-

2 mos, Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, eam provinciam
destinat firmatque Africis maxime praesidiis, peditum
Afrorum undecim milibus octingentis quinquaginta, Li-
3 guribus trecentis, Balearibus quingentis. Ad haec pe-
ditum auxilia additi equites Libyphoenices, mixtum
Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti quinquaginta et
Numidae Maurique accolae Oceani ad mille octingenti
et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, trecenti equites,
et, ne quod terrestris deesset auxilii genus, elephanti
4 viginti unus. Classis praeterea data tuendae maritumae
orae, quia, qua parte belli vicerant, ea tum quoque rem
gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinque-
remes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae
instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinqueremes erant
et triremes quinque.

5 Ab Gadibus (Carthaginem) ad hiberna exercitus redit;
atque inde profectus praeter Onusam urbem ad Hibe-
6 rum per maritumam oram ducit. Ibi fama est in quiete
visum ab eo iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove dice-
ret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum: proinde seque-
7 retur neque usquam a se defleceret oculos. Pavidum
primo nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem se-
cutum; deinde cura ingenii humani, cum quidnam id
esset quod respicere vetitus esset, agitare animo, tem-
8 perare oculis nequivisse; tum vidisse post sese serpen-
tem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgula-
torum strage ferri, ac post insequi cum fragore caeli
9 nimbum. Tum, quae moles ea quidve prodigii esset,
quaerentem audisse vastitatem Italiae esse: pergeret
porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto
esse.

23 Hoc visu laetus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit

praemissis, qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur. Nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim milia equitum Hiberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bargusi-
osque et Ausetanos et Lacetanium, quae subiecta Pyrenaeis montibus est, subegit oraeque huic omni praefecit Hannonem, ut fauces, quae Hispanias Galliis iungunt, in potestate essent. Decem milia peditum Hannoni ad
praesidium obtinendae regionis data et mille equites. Postquam per Pyrenaeum saltum traduci exercitus est
coeptus rumorque per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria milia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constat non tam bello motos quam longinquitate viae inxsuperabilique Alpium transitu. Han-
nibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos anceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi irritarentur, supra septem milia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipsos gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans. Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis Pyrenaeum transgreditur et ad oppidum Iliberri castra locat. Galli quamquam Italiae bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenaeum Hispanos fama erat praesidiaque valida inposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati Ruscinonem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, moram magis quam bellum metuens oratores ad regulos eorum misit, colloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle, et vel illi propius Iliberrim accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus faciliior esset: nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se laetum nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum. Hospitem enim se Galliae, non hostem advenisse, nec stricturum ante

- gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiam venisset.
- 5 Et per nuntios quidem haec; ut vero reguli Gallorum (castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis) haud gravate ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per finis suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.
- 25 In Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum.
- 2 erat, cum, perinde ac si Alpibus iam transisset, Boi sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob veteres in populum Romanum iras quam quod nuper circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum
- 3 deductas aegre patiebantur. Itaque armis repente arreptis in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non agrestis modo multitudo sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant adsignandum, diffusi Placentiae moenibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius C. Servilius M. Annius. Lutati nomen haud dubium est; pro Annio Servilioque M'. Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, alii
- 5 P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviros agrum metantis impetus sit factus. Mutinae cum obsiderentur; et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad
- 6 militaria opera, signis intactis adsideret muris, simulari coeptum de pace agi, evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad colloquium non contra ius modo gentium sed violata etiam, quae data in id tempus erat, fide comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi red-
- 8 derentur, eos dimissuros. Cum haec de legatis nuntiata essent et Mutina praesidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius praetor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mu-

tinam ducit. Silvae tunc circa viam erant plerisque 9 incultis. Ibi inexplorato profectus in insidias praecipitatur, multaque cum caede suorum aegre in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra communita et, quia Gallis ad 10 temptanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad quingentos cecidisse satis constabat. Iter 11 deinde de integro coeptum, nec, dum per patentia loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis; ubi rursus silvae in- 12 tratae, tum postremos adorti cum magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere. Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi 13 fuit Romanis, ut e saltu invio atque impedito evasere. Inde apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum, vicum propinquum Pado, contendere. Ibi se 14 munimento ad tempus com meatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies multitudinem hostium tutabantur. Qui tumultus 25 repens postquam est Romam perlatus et Punicum in super Gallico bellum auctum patres acceperunt, C. 2 Atilium praetorem cum una legione Romana et quinque milibus sociorum dilectu novo a consule conscriptis auxilium ferre Manlio iubent; qui sine ullo certamine — abscesserant enim metu hostes — Tannetum pervenit.

Et P. Cornelius in locum eius, quae missa cum praetore erat, scripta legione nova profectus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus praeter oram Etruriae Ligurumque et inde Salluvium montis pervenit Massiliam, et ad 4 proximum ostium Rhodani — pluribus enim divisus amnis in mare decurrit — castra locat, vixdum satis credens Hannibalem superasse Pyrenaeos montis. Quem 5 cum de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus, quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum satis refectis

- ab iactatione maritima militibus, trecentos interim delectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliariis Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes
- 6 praemittit. Hannibal (ceteris (metu aut pretio) pacatis iam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum, gentis validae. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani; sed diffusi citiore agro arceri Poenum posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum
- 7 traiectis ulteriorem ripam amnis armis obtinebant. Ceteros accolae fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum, quos sedes suae tenuerant simul perlicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi traici exercitum levareque quam primum regionem suam tanta
- 8 hominum urgente turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est linciumque temere ad vicinalem usum paratarum; novasque alias primum Galli inco-
- 9 hantes cavabant ex singulis arboribus, deinde et ipsi milites simul copia materiae simul facilitate operis inducti alveos informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquae et capere onera possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se sua-
- 27 que transveherent, faciebant. Iamque omnibus satis comparatis ad traiciendum terrebant ex adverso hostes
- 2 omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes. Quos ut averteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis
- 3 cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei iubet et, ubi primum possit, quam occultissime traiecto amni circumducere agmen, ut, cum
- 4 opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo hostes. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, inde milia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circumfusum amnem latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo transitum ostendere.
- 5 Ibi raptim caesa materia ratesque fabricatae, in quibus

equi virique et alia onera traicerentur. Hispani sine ulla mole in utres vestimentis coniectis ipsi ^{Swedia} caetris superpositis ^{incubantes} ^{the river} flumen tranavere. Et alius exercitus ^{the river} ratibus ^{together} iunctis traiectus, castris prope flumen positus, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex composito fumo 7 significant transisse et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad traiciendum. Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes 8 lintres, eques fere propter equos naves. Navium agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra traicientibus lintribus praebebat. / Equorum pars magna nantes loris a 9 puppibus trahebantur praeter eos, quos instratos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent, imposuerant in naves.) Galli occursant in ripa cum 28 variis ululatibus cantuque moris sui, quatientes scuta super capita vibrantesque dextris tela, quamquam et 2 ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nautarum militumque, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis et qui ex altera ripa traicientes suos hortabantur; et iam satis paventes 3 adverso tumultu terribilior ab tergo adortus clamor castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque terror circumstabat et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente et ab tergo improvisa premente acie. Galli postquam utroque vim facere conati pellebantur, 4 qua patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt trepidique in vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal ceteris copiis per otium traiectis spernens iam Gallicos tumultus castra locat.

- 5 Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo, certe variat memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis irritatum ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam nantem sequeretur, traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem de-
stitueret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam
6 rapi^{ant}ente. Ceterum magis constat ratibus traiectos; id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem
7 pronius est. Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes quin-
quaginta latam a terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripae religatam pontis in modum humo iniecta constraverunt, ut beluae audacter velut per solum in-
8 grederentur; altera ratis aequae lata, longa pedes centum, ad traiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; tum elephantī per stabilem ratem tamquam viam praegredientibus feminis acti ubi in minorem adplicatam transgressi
9 sunt, extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter adnexa erat, vinculis ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur. Ita primis expositis alii deinde repetiti ac
10 traiecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti velut ponte agerentur; primus erat pavor, cum soluta
11 ab ceteris rate in altum raperentur; ibi urgentes inter se cedentibus extremis ab aqua trepidationis aliquantulum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus
12 aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam saevientes quidam in flumen; sed pondere ipso stabiles deiectis rectoribus quaerendis pedetemptim vadis in terram evasere.
- 20 Dum elephantī traiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum, ubi et quantae copiae essent et quid pararent.
- 2 Huic alae equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio

Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Proelium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur; nam praeter multa vulnera caedes etiam prope par 3 utrimque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis iam admodum fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum quadraginta, nec omnes Romani, sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium 4 simul omenque belli ut summae rerum prosperum eventum ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.

Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec 5 Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis coep-
tisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet, et Hannibalem 6 incertum, utrum coeptum in Italiam intenderet iter an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus consereret, avertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore adfirmantes integro bello nusquam ante libatis viribus Italiam adgrediendam cen-
sent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem nondum oblit- 7 terata memoria superioris belli, sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit per- 30
gere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata contione varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: mi- 2
rari se, quinam pectora semper impavida repens terror invaserit. Per tot annos vincentis eos stipendia facere neque ante Hispania excessisse, quam omnes gentesque et terrae, quas duo diversa maria amplectantur, Carthaginiensium essent. Indignatos deinde quod, quicum- 3
que Saguntum obsedissent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi

- postularet populus Romanus, Hiberum traiecis-
se ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem
4 terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum, cum ab oc-
5 casu solis ad exortus intenderent iter; nunc, postquam
multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Py-
renaeum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum,
Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus Gallorum prohi-
bentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi traiectum, in
conspectu Alpīs habeant, quarum alterum latus Italiae
6 sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere — quid
Alpīs aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines?
7 Fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis: nullas profecto terras
caelum contingere nec inexsuperabiles humano generi
esse. Alpīs quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere
8 animantes: pervias faucis esse exercitibus. Eos ipsos,
quos cernant, legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpīs
transgressos. Ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas, sed
advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpīs ingentibus saepe
agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus migrantium modo
9 tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem armato nihil secum
praeter instrumenta belli portanti quid invium aut in-
superabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo
10 menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse! Romam,
caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo asperum
11 atque arduum videri quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse
quondam Gallos ea, quae adiri posse Poenus desperet.
Proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per
eos dies totiens ab se victae aut itineris finem sperent
campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.)
31 His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad
2 iter se parare iubet. Postero die profectus adversa ripa
Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rectior ad

Alpis via esset, sed, quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvi-
um fore Romanum credens, cum quo, priusquam in 3
Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conse-
rere. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. Ibi Isara 4
Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes
agri aliquantum amplexi confluunt in unum; mediis
campis Insulae nomen inditum. Incolunt prope Allo- 5
broges, gens iam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut
fama inferior. Tum discors erat: regni certamine am- 6
bigebant fratres; maior et qui prius imperitarat, Bra-
neus nomine, a fratre minore et coetu iuniorum, qui
iure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Huius sedi- 7
tionis peropportuna disceptatio cum ad Hannibalem
delegata esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatus prin-
cipumque sententia fuerat, imperium maiori restituit.
Ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum omnium, 8
maxime vestis, est adiutus, quam infames frigoribus Alpes
praeparari cgebant. Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Al- 9
lobrogum cum iam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter
instituit, sed ad laevam in Tricastinos flexit; inde per
extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios,
haud usquam impedita via priusquam ad Druentiam
flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium 10
Galliae fluminum difficillimus transitu est. Nam cum 11
aquae vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens
est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque
isdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque gurgites
gignit, et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta via est; ad hoc
saxa glareosa volvens nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti
praebet. Et tum forte imbribus auctus ingentem trans- 12
gradientibus tumultum fecit, cum super cetera trepidatione
ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

- 32 P. Cornelius consul triduo fere post quam Hannibal a
 ripa Rhodani movit, ^{valle ad} quadrato agmine ad castra hostium
 2 venerat, nullam dimicandi moram factururus. Ceterum
 ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum praegressos
 adsecuturum videt, ad mare ac naves rediit, tutius facili-
 usque ita descendentem ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus.
- 3 Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam
 provinciam ^{re habet} sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum
 maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit,
 4 non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres socios conciliandos-
 que novos sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdru-
 5 balem. Ipse cum ^{admodum} exiguis copiis Genuam
 repetit, eo, qui circa Padum erat exercitus, Italiam de-
 fensurus.
- 6 Hannibal ab Druentia ^{campestre} (campestri maxime itinere) ad
 Alpis cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum per-
 7 venit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta in
 maius vero ferri solent, praecepta res erat, tamen ex
 propinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque caelo prope
 immixtae, ^{vis} tecta ^{vae} informia imposita rupibus, pecora iu-
 mentaque torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti,
 animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu
 8 quam dictu foediora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigentibus
 in primos agmen ^{clivos} apparuerunt imminentes tumu-
 los insidentes montani, qui, si valles occultiores inse-
 dissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam stra-
 9 gemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa iussit;
 Gallisque ad visenda loca praemissis postquam comperit
 transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia
 praeruptaque quam extentissima potest valle locat.
- 10 Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum lingua mori-
 busque abhorrentes, cum se immiscuissent colloquiis

montanorum, edoctus ^{in illis} interdū tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdū vim per angustias facturus. Die deinde simulando aliud, quam quod 11 parabatur, consumpto cum eodem, quo constiterant, loco castra communissent, ubi primum digressos tumulis 12 montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis impeditis et cum equite relictis et maxima parte peditum, ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque viro, raptim angustias 13 evadit iisque ipsis tumulis, quos hostes tenuerant, consedit.

Prima deinde luce castra mota et agmen reliquum in-33 cedere coepit. Iam montani signo dato ex castellis ad 2 stationem solitam conveniebant, cum repente conspiciunt alios arce occupata sua super caput imminentis, alios via transire hostis. Utraque simul obiecta res oculis 3 animisque immobiles ^{per}parūper eos defixit; deinde, ut ^{de}trepidationem in angustis suoque ipsum tumultu misceri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quidquid 4 adiecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad perniciem fore rati, diversis rupibus iuxta in vias ac devia adsueti decurrunt. Tum vero simul ab hostibus simul ab iniquitate locorum 5 Poeni oppugnabantur, plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente, ut periculo primus evaderet, quam cum hostibus certaminis erat. Equi maxime infestum agmen 6 faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussaeque valles augebant, territi trepidabant et icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur ut stragem ingentem simul hominum ac ^{sarcinarum}sarcinarum omnis generis facerent; multosque turba, cum praecipites deruptae- 7 que utrimque angustiae essent, in immensum altitudinis deiecit, quosdam et armatos; sed ruinae maxime modo

- 8 iumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quae quamquam
foeda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac
suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret;
9 deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculumque
esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequiquam in-
columem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco et, cum
impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum
10 auxit. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, postquam
liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur, nec
per otium modo sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti.
11 Castellum inde, quod caput eius regionis erat, viculos-
que circumiectos capit, et captivo cibo ac pecoribus per
triduum exercitum aluit; et quia nec a montanis primo
perculsis nec loco magno opere impediabantur, aliquan-
tum eo triduo viae confecit.
- 34 Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut
inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed
suis artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circumventus.
- 2 Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum
veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes
3 amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Poenorum; itaque
oboedienter imperata facturos; commeatum itinerisque
4 duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet. Han-
nibal nec temere credendum nec aspernandos ratus, ne
repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne cum respon-
disset obsidibus, quos dabant, acceptis et commeatu
quem in viam ipsi detulerant usus, nequaquam, ut inter
5 pacatos composito agmine duces eorum sequitur. Pri-
mum agmen elephantum et equites erant; ipse post cum
robore peditum circumspectans sollicitusque ad omnia
6 incedebat. Ubi in angustiore viam et parte altera sub-
iectam iugo insuper imminenti ventum est, undique ex

insidiis barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti comminus eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima 7 ab tergo vis hominum urgebat. In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem 8 ventum est. Nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus praesidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliqui erat, 9 occursantes per obliqua montani interrupto medio agmine viam insedere, noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est. Postero die iam segnius inter- 35 cursantibus barbaris iunctae copiae, saltusque haud sine clade, maiore tamen iumentorum quam hominum perniciem, superatus. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocinii 2 magis quam belli more concursabant modo in primum modo in novissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunitatem daret aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent. Elephanti sicut per artas praecipitesque 3 vias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praebebant.

Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per invia 4 pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi fides iis non esset, temere initae valles a coniectantibus iter faciebant. Biduum in iugo stativa habita, fessisque 5 labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iumenta quoque aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis taedio tot malorum (nivis etiam casus) occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum 6 ingentem terrorem adiecit. Per omnia nive oppleta cum 7 signis prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet pigri-

8 tiaeque et desperatio in omnium vultu emereret, prae-
gressus signa Hannibal in promunturio quodam, unde
longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus
Italiam ostentat subiectosque Alpinis montibus Circum-
9 padanos campos, moeniaque eos tum transcendere non
Italiae modo sed etiam urbis Romanae; cetera plana,
proclivia fore; uno aut summum altero proelio arcem et
caput Italiae in manu ac potestate habituros.

10 Procedere inde agmen coepit, iam nihil ne hostibus
quidem praeter parva furta per occasionem temptanti-
11 bus. Ceterum iter multo quam in ascensu fuerat, ut
pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita adrectiora
12 sunt, difficilius fuit. Omnis enim ferme via praeceps,
angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se ab lapsu pos-
sent nec, qui paulum titubassent, haerere adfixi vestigio
suo, alique super alios et iumenta in homines occide-
rent.

36 Ventum deinde ad multo angustiore rupem atque
ita rectis saxis ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus
manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes
2 demittere sese posset. Natura locus iam ante praeceps
recenti lapsu terrae in pedum mille admodum altitudi-
3 nem abruptus erat. Ibi cum velut ad finem viae equites
constitissent, miranti Hannibali quae res moraretur ag-
4 men, nuntiatur rupem inviam esse. Digressus deinde
ipse ad locum visendum. Haud dubia res visa, quin per
invia circa nec trita antea quamvis longo ambitu cir-
5 cumduceret agmen. Ea vero via inexsuperabilis fuit.
Nam cum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicae
altitudinis esset, molli nec praealtae facile pedes in-
6 gredientium insistebant; ut vero tot hominum iumento-
rumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem

fluentemque, tabern¹ liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur. Taetra ibi luctatio erat (via lubrica) glacie non recipiente 7 vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adiuvisissent, ipsis ad-⁸ miniculis prolapsis iterum corruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset, erant; ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volu-⁹ tabantur. Iumenta secabant interdum etiam infimam 8 ingredientia nivem et prolapsa iactandis gravius in conitendo unguis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque velut ^{pedica} capta haerent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

Tandem nequiquam iumentis atque hominibus fatis-³⁷ gatis castra in iugo posita, ægerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato: tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit. Inde ad rupem muniendam, (per quam unam) via esse 2 poterat, milites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa immanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio 3 rupem ferro pandunt molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta solum sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quadriduum circa rupem consumptum iumen- 4 tis prope fame absumptis; nuda enim fere cacumina sunt et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives. Inferiora 5 valles apricosque quosdam colles habent rivosque prope silvas et iam humano cultu digniora loca. Ibi iumenta 6 in pabulum missa et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data. Triduo inde ad planum descensum iam et locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

Hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum est, quinto 38

mense a Carthagine Nova, ut quidam auctores sunt,
 2 quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantae copiae
 transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam
 inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum milia
 peditum, viginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui minimum,
 3 viginti milia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius Alimen-
 tus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor
 moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque
 4 additis: cum his octoginta milia peditum, decem equi-
 tum adducta — in Italia magis adfluxisse veri simile est,
 5 et ita quidam auctores sunt —; ex ipso autem audisse
 Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex
 milia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et alio-
 rum iumentorum amisisse. Taurini Semigalli proxima
 6 gens erat in Italiam degresso. Id cum inter omnes constet
 eo magis miror ambigi, quam Alpis transierit, et vulgo
 credere Poenino — atque inde nomen ei iugo Alpium
 inditum — transgressum, Coelium per Cremonis iugum
 7 dicere transisse; qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos
 sed per Salassos Montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxis-
 8 sent. Nec veri simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse
 itinera; utique, quae ad Poeninum ferunt, obsaepta
 9 gentibus Semigermanis fuissent. Neque hercule monti-
 bus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorum,
 ullo Seduni Veragri, incolae iugi eius, nomen norint in-
 ditum, sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice
 Poeninum montani appellant.

39 Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximae
 genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed ar-
 mare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset,
 in reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala,
 2 non poterat: otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia,

cultus ex inluvie tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, 3 cum Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in novis ignominiis trepido ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus consereret. Sed cum Placentiam consul venit, iam ex stativis 4 moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volentes in amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnarat; ac iunxisset sibi non metu solum sed etiam 5 voluntate Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantis defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quae pars se- 6 quenda esset, Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus. Iam prope in conspectu erant exercitus convenerantque duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita iam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis 8 et apud Romanos iam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, praestantem virum credebat; et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, 9 quod, relictus in Gallia, obvius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci traiciendarum Alpium et effectu.

Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum traicere, et ad Ticinum 10 amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus: 'Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in 40 Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos; quid 2 enim adhortari referret aut eos equites qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro-

3 victoria habui? nunc, quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae
provinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis
auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque
4 Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Han-
nibalem ac Poenos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario cer-
tamini obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites pauca
5 verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem igno-
retis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra
marique priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per
viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli praemia Sici-
6 liam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine
is vobis illisque animus qui victoribus et victis esse solet.
Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, pugnaturi
7 sunt; nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detracta-
vere, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu
Alpium amissis [qui plures paene perierint quam super-
8 sint] plus spei nactos esse. At enim pauci quidem sunt,
sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora ac
9 vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit. Effigies immo, umbrae
hominum, fame frigore inluvie squalore enecti, contusi
ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc praeusti artus,
nive rigentes nervi, membra torrida gelu, quassata frac-
10 taque arma, claudi ac debiles equi: cum hoc equite,
cum hoc peditate pugnaturi estis; reliquias extremas hostis,
non hostem habetis; ac nihil magis vereor quam ne, cum
vos pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem videantur.
11 Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum foederum ruptore duce ac
populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac
profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus,
41 commissum ac profligatum conficere. Non vereor ne
quis me haec vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui
2 existimet, ipsum aliter animo adfectum esse. Licuit in

Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii participem ac periculi socium haberem et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem et minorem haud dubie molem belli; tamen, cum praeterveherer navibus Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus praemisso equitatu ad Rhodanum movi castra. Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum conserendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra non poteram, [neque] regressus ad navis [erat], quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris terrarumque circuitu in radicibus prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obvius fui. Utrum, cum declinarem certamen, improvidus incidisse videor, an occurrere in vestigiis eius, lacessere ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri iuvat, utrum alios repente Carthaginenses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an idem sint qui ad Aegatis pugnaverunt insulas et quos ab Eryce duodevicenis denariis aestimatos emisistis, et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre relictus. Quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitare, respiceret profecto, si non patriam victam, domum certe patremque et foedera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui iussus ab consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graves impositas victis Carthaginensibus leges fremens maerensque accipit, qui decedens Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. // Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo, quo adversus alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum, fame, in-

- terficere; licuit victricem classem in Africam traicere atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem
12 delere: veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae
13 duximus cum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro his impertitis furiosum iuvenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis
14 et non pro salute esset certamen! Non de possessione Siciliae ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro
15 Italia vobis est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant, comparari nova possint praesidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana
16 moenia pugnemus. Unus quisque se non corpus suum sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas, sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque
17 Romanum: qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore.
42 Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum proiectis interrogare interpretem iussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet.
2 Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent et deiecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum optabat, quem
3 fortuna in id certamen legeret; cuiusque sors exciderat, alacer inter gratulantes gaudio exultans cum sui moris
4 tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. Ubi vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter eiusdem modo condicionis homines erat sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non

vincentium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur. Cum sic aliquot spectatis paribus adfectos 43 dimisisset, contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus fertur: 'Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo 2 ante habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites; neque enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quaedam veluti imago vestrae condicionis erat. Ac nescio an maiora vincula maioresque necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna circumdederit: dextra laevaue duo maria claudunt nullam ne ad ef- 4 fugium quidem navem habentis, circa Padus amnis maior ac violentior Rhodano, ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis ac vigentibus transitae. Hic vincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quae necessitatem pugnandi imposuit, 5 praemia vobis ea victoribus proponit, quibus ampliora homines ne ab diis quidem immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tantum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris 6 ereptas nostra virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent: quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis futurum est. In hanc tam opimam mer- 7 cedem, agite dum, diis bene iuvantibus arma capite. Satis 8 adhuc in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus pecora consectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculorumque vestrorum vidistis; tempus est iam opulenta 9 vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes emensos. Hic vobis terminum laborum 10 fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit. Nec, quam magni nominis bellum est, tam diffi- 11 cilem existimaritis victoriam fore: saepe et contemptus

hostis cruentum certamen edidit et incluti populi reges-
12 que perlevi momento victi sunt. Nam, dempto hoc uno
fulgore nominis Romani, quid est cur illi vobis compa-
13 randi sint? Ut viginti annorum militiam vestram cum
illa virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis colum-
nis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot
ferocissimos Hispaniae et Galliae populos vincentes huc
14 pervenistis; pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa
aestate caeso victo circumsessio a Gallis, ignoto adhuc
15 duci suo ignorantique ducem. An me in praetorio
patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe educ-
tum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque, victorem eundem
non Alpinarum modo gentium sed ipsarum, quod multo
maius est, Alpium, cum semenstri hoc conferam duce,
16 desertore exercitus sui? Cui si quis demptis signis
Poenos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum cer-
17 tum habeo utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud
parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum cuius non
ante oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus,
cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata tem-
18 poribus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum lau-
datis a me miliens donatisque, alumnus prius omnium
vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversus
44 ignotos inter se ignorantesque. Quocumque circumtuli
oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris, vetera-
num peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frena-
2 tos infrenatosque, vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque,
vos, Carthaginienses, cum pro patria tum ob iram iustis-
3 simam pugnatueros. Inferimus bellum infestisque signis
descendimus in Italiam, tanto audacius fortiusque pugna-
turi quam hostis, quanto maior spes, maior est animus
4 inferentis vim quam arcentis. Accendit praeterea et

stimulat animos dolor iniuria indignitas. Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatibus adfecturi fuerunt. Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia sui que arbitrii facit. Cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum imponere aequum censet. Circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus, neque eos, quos statuit, terminos observat. "Ne transieris Hiberum! Ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis!" At liberum est Saguntum. "Nusquam te vestigio moveris!" Parum est quod veterrimas provincias meas Siciliam ac Sardiniam ademisti? adimis etiam Hispanias? et inde si decessero, in Africam transcendes. Transcendes autem? Transcendisse dico. Duos consules huius anni, unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil usquam nobis relictum est, nisi quod armis vindicarimus. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet qui respectum habent, quos sua terra suus ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipiant: vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse et, omnibus inter victoriam mortemque certa desperatione abruptis, aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in proelio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus destinatumque animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis: nullum contemptu mortis telum ad vincendum homini ab dis immortalibus acrius datum est.

His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum iungunt tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper imponunt; Poenus hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit; Gallis

- parci quam maxime iubet principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque milia passuum
4 a Victumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equitibus, cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil umquam satis dictum praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis
5 pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia Africa Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem ipsi, qui accepisset, liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset,
6 ei se argento satisfacturum; qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallent, daturum se operam, ne cuius suorum
7 popularium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent. Servis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit, binas
8 que pro iis mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum laeva manu, dextra silicem retinens, si falleret, Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent quem ad modum ipse agnum mactasset, secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit.
9 Tum vero omnes, velut diis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id morae, quod nondum pugnarent, ad potienda sperata rati, proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt.
- 46 Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat,
2 super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis; nam et lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen apum in arbore praetorio imminente
3 consederat. Quibus procuratis Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium ex propinquo copiasque, quantae et cuius generis essent,

speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros primo 4 cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum equorum oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et ad proelium sese expediebant. Scipio iaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte 5 locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris fuit in subsidiiis; Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato iaculatores 6 fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps; dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna venerat, donec Numidae, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus periculumque intercurso tum primum pubescentis filii propulsatum. Hic 8 erit iuvenis, penes quem perfecti huiusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxime 9 fuit, quos primos Numidae invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum non armis modo sed etiam corporibus suis protegens in castra nusquam trepide neque effuse cedendo reduxit. Servati consulis 10 decus Coelius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit.

Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit; quo facile 47 apparuit equitatu meliorem Poenum esse et ob id campos patentis, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte ius- 2

- sis militibus vasa silentio colligere castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus iunxerat flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque in-
3 sectione hostis copias traiceret. Prius Placentiam pervenere quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad sescentos moratorum in citeriore ripa Padi segniter ratem solventes cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota rate in secun-
4 dam aquam labente. Coelius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo transisse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impe-
5 tum fluminis oppositis. Ea peritis amnis eius vix fidem fecerint; nam neque equites armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse veri simile est, ut iam Hispanos omnes inflati travexerint utres, et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerunt, qua exercitus gravis
6 impedimentis traduci posset. Potiores apud me auctores sunt qui biduo vix locum rate iungendo flumini inventum tradunt; ea cum Magone equites et Hispano-
7 rum expeditos praemissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, traicit gravius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes conten-
8 dunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia a Placentia castra communivit et postero die in conspectu hostium acie directa potestatem pugnae fecit.
- 48 Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est.
- 2 Ad duo milia peditum et ducenti equites vigilibus ad portas trucidatis ad Hannibalem transfugiunt; quos Poenus benigne adlocutus et spe ingentium donorum

accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos popularium animos dimisit. Scipio, caedem eam signum defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus contactosque eo scelere velut iniecta rabie ad arma ituros, quamquam gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam fluvium iam in loca altiora collisque impeditiores equiti castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; missisque Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu, turbasset utique novissimum agmen ni aviditate praedae in vacua Romana castra Numidae devertissent. Ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis digno morae pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus; et cum iam transgressos Trebiam Romanos metantisque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio, nec vexationem vulneris in via lacerati ultra patiens et collegam — iam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat — ratus exspectandum, locum, qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communiit. Nec procul inde Hannibal cum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia, quae per hostium agros euntem nusquam praeparatis commeatibus maior in dies excipiebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi cum vim pararent, spes facta proditionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino praefecto praesidii corrupto traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito praesidio, ut fama clementiae in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil saevitum est.

Cum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, interim

- circa Siciliam insulasque Italiae imminentes et a Sempronio consule et ante adventum eius terra marique
2 res gestae. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis
ad depopulandam oram Italiae a Carthaginiensibus
missae; novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenu-
3 erunt, tres in fretum avertit aestus. Ad eas conspectas
a Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum
missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem Romanum oppellens, nullo repugnante captas naves
4 Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captivis
praeter viginti naves, cuius ipsi classis essent, in Italiam
missas, quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes
5 Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lilybaei
occupandi praecipuam curam esse; credere eadem tempestate,
qua ipsi disiecti forent, eam quoque classem
6 ad Aegatis insulas deiectam. Haec, sicut audita erant,
rex M. Aemilio praetori, cuius Sicilia provincia erat, per-
scribit monetque ut Lilybaeum firmo teneret praesidio.
7 Extemplo et circa civitates a praetore missi legati tribu-
nique, qui suos ad curam custodiae intenderent, et ante
omnia Lilybaeum teneri apparatu belli, edicto proposito
ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves
8 deferrent ut, ubi signum datum esset, ne quid moram
conscendendi faceret; perque omnem oram qui ex speculis
9 prospicerent adventantem hostium classem missi. Itaque,
quamquam de industria ita moderati cursum navium
erant Carthaginienses ut ante lucem accederent Lilybaeum,
praesensum tamen est, quia et luna pernox erat
10 et sublatis armamentis veniebant: extemplo datum signum
ex speculis et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est
et in naves consensum; pars militum in muris porta-
11 rumque stationibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Cartha-

ginienses, quia rem fore haud cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinuerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe assumpto. Ubi inluxit, recepere classem in altum ut 12 spatium pugnae esset exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium haberent. Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam 13 et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudine ac virtute. Ubi in altum evecti 50 sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et ex propinquo vires conferre velle; contra eludere Poenus et arte, non vi 2 rem gerere naviumque quam virorum aut armorum malle certamen facere. Nam ut sociis navalibus adfatim in- 3 structam classem ita inopem milite habebant et, sicubi conserta navis esset, haudquaquam par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnat. Quod ubi animadversum est, 4 et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animum et paucitas illis minuit. Extemplo septem naves Punicae circum- 5 ventae, fugam ceterae ceperunt. Mille et septingenti fuere in navibus captis milites nautaeque, in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis Romana incolumis, una 6 tantum perforata navi, sed ea quoque ipsa reduce, in portum rediit.

Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius qui 7 Messanae erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam venit. Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem ornatam armatamque obviam duxit, transgressusque ex regia in praetoriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et 8 navibus advenisse precatusque prosperum ac felicem in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde insulae et Cartha- 9 giniensium conata exposuit pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum Romanum iuvenis adjuvisset, eo senem adiuturum; frumentum vestimentaue sese legio- 10

nibus consulis sociisque navalibus^{gratis} praebiturum; grande periculum Lilybaeo maritumisque civitatibus esse, 11 et quibusdam volentibus novas res fore. Ob haec consuli nihil cunctandum visum, quin Lilybaeum classe peteret. Et rex regiaque classis una profecti. Navigantes inde pugnatum ad Lilybaeum fusasque et captas 51 hostium naves accepere. A Lilybaeo consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictoque praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram, ipse in insulam Melitam, quae a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, traiecit. Advenienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius, praefectus praesidii, cum paulo minus duobus milibus militum oppidumque cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaeum, captivique et a consule et a praetore praeter insignes nobilitate viros sub 3 corona venierunt. Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Vulcani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, traiecit; nec quisquam 4 hostium circa eas insulas inventus. Iam forte transmisserant ad vastandam Italiae oram, depopulatoque Vibonensi agro urbem etiam terrebant. Repetenti Siciliam consuli escensio hostium in agrum Viboniensem facta nuntiatur litteraeque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut primo quoque tempore collegae ferret 6 auxilium, missae traduntur. Multis simul anxius curis exercitum extemplo in naves impositum Ariminum mari^o supero misit, Sexto Pomponio legato cum viginti quinque longis navibus Viboniensem agrum maritimamque 7 oram Italiae tuendam attribuit, M. Aemilio praetori quinquaginta navium classem explevit. Ipse compositis Siciliae rebus decem navibus oram Italiae legens Ariminum pervenit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen collegae coniungitur.

Iam ambo consules et quidquid Romanarum virium 52
erat Hannibali oppositum aut illis copiis defendi posse
Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse satis
declarabat. Tamen consul alter equestri proelio uno et 2
vulnere suo minutus trahi rem malebat; recentis animi
alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod 3
inter Trebiam Padumque agri est, Galli tum incolebant,
in duorum praepotentium populorum certamine per am-
biguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes.
Id Romani, modo ne quid moverent, aequo satis, Poenus 4
periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad
liberandos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut praeda 5
militem aleret, duo milia peditum et mille equites, Nu-
midas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari
omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas iussit.
Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id dubios servassent animos, 6
coacti ab auctoribus iniuriae ad vindices futuros decli-
nant legatisque ad consules missis auxilium Romanorum
terrae ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti
orant. Cornelio nec causa nec tempus agenda rei 7
placebat, suspectaque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa
facinora tum, ut illa vetustate obsolevissent, ob recen-
tem Boiorum perfidiam; Sempronius contra continendis 8
in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse primos, qui eguis-
sent ope, defensos censebat. Is tum, collega cunctante, 9
equitatum suum mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme ad-
mixtis ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam
mittit. Sparsos et incompósitos, ad hoc gravis praeda 10
plerosque cum inopinato invasissent, ingentem terrorem
caedemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hos-
tium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsus rursus sub-
sidio suorum proelium restituere. Varia inde pugna inter 11

sequentes cedentesque; cumque ad extremum aequas-
 sent certamen, maior tamen hostium *caedes*, penes Ro-
 53 manos fama victoriae fuit. Ceterum nemini omnium
 maior ea iustiorque quam ipsi consuli videri; gaudio
 efferri, qua parte copiarum alter consul victus foret, ea se
 2 vicisse: restitutos ac refectos militibus animos, nec quem-
 quam esse praeter collegam, qui dilatam dimicationem
 vellet; eum animo magis quam corpore aegrum memoria
 vulneris aciem ac tela horrere. Sed non esse cum aegro
 3 senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus?
 Quem tertium consulem, quem alium exercitum exspec-
 4 tari? Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia ac prope in
 conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam vic-
 tis ademptas nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo
 patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli Romanos.
 5 'Quantum ingemiscant' inquit 'patres nostri, circa
 moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos, pro-
 geniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in
 media Italia paventis intra castra, Poenum, quod inter
 Alpis Appenninumque agri sit, suae dicionis fecisse?'
 6 Haec adsidens aegro collegae, haec in praetorio prope
 contionabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propin-
 quum comitiorum, ne in novos consules bellum differre-
 tur et occasio in se unum vertendae gloriae, dum aeger
 7 collega erat. Itaque nequiquam dissentiente Cornelio
 parari ad propinquum certamen milites iubet.

Hannibal cum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret, vix
 ullam spem habebat temere atque improvide quicquam
 8 consules acturos; cum alterius ingenium, fama prius,
 deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse, feroci-
 usque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis certamine
 crederet, adesse gerendae rei fortunam haud diffidebat.

Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus, sollicitus intenusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat 10 segnius secuturam, quanto longius ab domo traherentur. Cum ob haec taliaque speraret propinquum certamen et 11 facere, si cessaretur, cuperet, speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda, quae vellet, tutiores, quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos pugnae esse Romanos rettulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus coepit. Erat in medio rivus praealtis utrimque clausus ripis et 54 circa obsitus palustribus herbis et, quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumvectus ipse oculis perlustravit, 'Hic erit locus' Magoni fratri ait 'quem teneas. Delige centenos viros ex omni pedite 2 atque equite, cum quibus ad me 'vigilia prima' venias; nunc corpora curare tempus est.' Ita praetorium misum. 3 Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. 'Robora virorum cerno' inquit Hannibal; 'sed uti numero etiam, non animis modo valeatis, singuli vobis novenos ex turmis manipulisque vestri similes eligit. Mago locum monstrabit, quem insideatis: hostem caecum ad has belli 4 artes habetis.' Ita Magone cum mille equitibus mille pedibus dimisso Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen obequitare iubet hostium portis iaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde certamine cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Haec mandata Numidis; ceteris ducibus 5 peditum equitumque praeceptum ut prandere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis signum expectare.

- 6 Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex milia peditum, postremo omnes copias ab ³⁹⁴⁵destinato iam ante consilio avidus certaminis eduxit. Erat forte brumae tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Appenninoque interiectis, propinquitatem etiam fluminum ac paludum praegelidis.
- 8 Ad hoc ³⁹⁴⁶raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat et, quidquid aurae fluminis adpropinquabant, adflabat acrior frigoris vis. Ut vero refugientes
- 9 Numidas ³⁹⁴⁷insistentes aquam ingressi sunt — et erat pectoribus ³⁹⁴⁸tenus aucta nocturno imbri —, tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia esset, et simul lassitudine et procedente
- 55 iam die fame etiam deficere. Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostis nuntiatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit. Baliares locat ante signa levemque aliam armaturam, octo ferme milia hominum, dein graviores armis peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit decem milia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem divisos
- 3 elephantos statuit. Consul effuse sequentis equites, cum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo
- 4 receptui dato revocatos circumdedit peditibus. Duodeviginti milia Romana erant, socium nominis Latini viginti, auxilia praeterea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide
- 5 manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursus est. Proellium a Baliaribus ortum est; quibus cum maiore robore legiones obsisterent, diducta ³⁹⁴⁹propterea in cornua levis
- 6 armatura est, quae res effecit ut equitatus Romanus

extemplo urgeretur. Nam cum vix iam per se resisterent decem milibus equitum quattuor milia et fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt insuper velut nube iaculorum a Baliaribus coniecta. Ad hoc elephantum eminentes ab 7 extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna 8 par animis magis quam viribus erat, quas recentis Poenus paulo ante curatis corporibus in proelium attulerat; contra ieiuna fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum pedite solum foret pugnatum; sed et Baliares pulso equite 9 iaculabantur in latera et elephantum iam in mediam peditum aciem sese intulerant et Mago Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum improvida praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot 10 circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, (maxime praeter spem omnium) adversus elephantos. Eos 11 velites ad id ipsum locati verutis coniectis et avertere et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant. Trepidantisque et prope iam 56 in suos consternatos e media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos auxiliares agi iussit Hannibal. Ibi extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam eoque novus terror additus Romanis ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. 2 Itaque cum iam in orbem pugnarent, decem milia ferme hominum, cum alia evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, qua Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium perrupere et, cum neque in castra reditus esset 3 flumine interclusis neque prae imbri satis decernere possent, qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones 4 factae; et qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti

- sunt aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus
5 oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, alii
vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam conten-
dere, aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen
6 fecit, transgressique in castra pervenerunt. Imber nive
mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et
7 iumenta et elephantos prope omnis absumpsit. Finis
insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita tor-
pentes gelu in castra rediere ut vix laetitiam victoriae
8 sentirent. Itaque nocte insequenti, cum praesidium
castrorum et quod reliquum ex fuga sempernium ex
magna parte militum erat ratibus Trebiam traicerent,
9 aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia aut, quia iam moveri
nequibant prae lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese
dissimularunt, quietisque Poenis tacito agmine ab Sci-
pione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde
Pado traiecto Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hiber-
nis una colonia premeretur.
- 57 Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est ut iam
ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hostem
venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse quo portis
2 moenibusque vim arcerent: uno consule ad Ticinum
victo alterum ex Sicilia revocatum; duobus consulibus,
duobus consularibus exercitibus victis, quos alios duces,
3 quas alias legiones esse quae arcessantur? Ita territis
Sempronius consul advenit, ingenti periculo per effusos
passim ad praedandum hostium equites audacia magis
quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falle-
4 ret, transgressus. Inde, quod unum maxime in praesentia
desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis in hiberna
rediit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius
iterum.

Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant 5
vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, ut quaeque iis
impeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur
undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado
naves subveherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit 6
et opere magno munitum et valido firmatum praesidio.
Eius castelli oppugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi ar-
matura profectus Hannibal, cum plurimum in celando ^{hiding}
incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus non
fefellit vigiles. Tanta repente clamor est sublatus ut 7
Placentiae quoque audiretur. Itaque sub lucem cum
equitatu consul aderat iussis quadrato agmine legionibus
sequi. Equestre interim proelium commissum; in 8
quo quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore hostibus
iniecto defensum egregie praesidium est. Paucorum 9
inde dierum quiete sumpta et vixdum satis percurato
vulnere ad Victumulas oppugnandas ire pergit. Id em-
porium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; munitum inde 10
locum frequentaverant accolae mixti undique ex finitimis
populis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque
ex agris compulerat. Huius generis multitudo, fama im-
pigre defensi ad Placentiam praesidii accensa, armis ar-
reptis obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina quam 12
acies in via concurrerunt, et cum ex altera parte nihil
praeter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi
et miles duci fidens, ad triginta quinque milia hominum
a paucis fusa. Postero die deditione facta praesidium 13
intra moenia acceperunt; iussique arma tradere cum dicto
paruissent, signum repente victoribus datur, ut tamquam
vi captam urbem diriperent. Neque ulla quae in tali re 14
memorabilis scribentibus videri solet praetermissa clades
est: adeo omne libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae

X superbiae editum in miseros exemplum est. Hae fuere hibernae expeditiones Hannibalis.

58 Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora
2 erant, quies militi data est; et ad prima ac dubia signa
veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quo-
que gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut volun-
3 tate adiuncturus. Transeuntem Appenninum adeo atrox
adorta tempestas est ut Alpium prope foeditatem supe-
raverit. Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora,
primo, quia aut arma ^{omittenda} erant aut contra eni-
4 tentes vertice intorti adflegebantur, ^{constitire}; dein,
cum iam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam
5 sineret, aversi a vento parumper consedere. Tum vero
ingenti sono caelum strepere et inter horrendos fragores
micare ignes; capti auribus et oculis metu omnes tor-
6 pere. Tandem effuso imbre, cum eo magis accensa vis
venti esset, ipso illo, quo deprehensi erant, loco castra
7 ponere necessarium visum est. Id vero laboris velut de
integrali initium fuit: nam nec explicare quicquam nec
statuere poterant nec, quod statutum esset, manebat,
8 omnia perscindente vento et rapiente. Et mox aqua
levata vento, cum super gelida montium iuga concreta
esset, tantum nivosae grandinis deiecit ut omnibus omis-
9 quam tecti; tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est ut ex illa
miserabili hominum iumentorumque ^{strage} strage cum se quis-
que attollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torpen-
10 tibus rigore nervis vix flectere artus poterant. Deinde, ut
tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere animos et
raris locis ignis fieri est coeptus, ad alienam opem quis-
11 que inops tendere. Biduum eo loco velut obsessi man-
sere. Multi homines, multa iumenta, elephanti quoque

ex iis, qui proelio ad Trebiam facto superfuerant, septem absumpti.

Degressus Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra movit et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero die duodecim milia peditum, quinque equitum adversus hostem ducit; nec Sempronius consul — iam enim redierat 2 ab Roma — ^{shave him} detrectavit certamen. Atque eo die tria milia passuum inter bina castra fuere; postero die in 3 gentibus animis vario eventu pugnatum est. Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit ut non acie vincerent solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra persequerentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal paucis 4 propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positos ceteros confertos in media castra recepit, intentosque signum ad erumpendum exspectare iubet. Iam nona ferme diei 5 hora erat, cum Romanus nequiquam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit laxatamque pugnam 6 et recessum a castris vidit, extemplo equitibus dextra laevaue emissis in hostem ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro magis ulla saeva aut 7 utriusque partis pernicie clavior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium ^{val silvius} vivisset: nox accensum ingentibus 8 animis proelium diremit. Itaque acrior concursus fuit quam caedes et, sicut aequata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sescentis plus peditibus et dimidium eius equitum cecidit; sed 9 maior Romanis quam pro numero iactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et praefecti sociorum tres sunt interfecti. Secundum eam 10 pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias inter-

cepti duo quaestores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordinis, senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

- 60 Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio in
2 Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus cum ab ostio
Rhodani profectus Pyrenaeosque montes circumvectus
3 Emporias ^{canal}appulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu orsus
a Lacetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen,
partim renovandis societatibus partim novis instituen-
4 dis, Romanae ditionis fecit. Inde conciliata clementiae
iustitiaeque fama non ad maritimos modo populos sed in
mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores iam gentes
valuit; nec pax modo apud eos sed societas etiam armorum
parta est, validaeque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex
5 iis conscriptae sunt. Hannonis cis Hiberum provincia
erat; eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis eius praesidium.
Itaque, priusquam alienarentur omnia, obviam
eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hostium positis, in
6 aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differendum certamen visum,
quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi
dimicandum esse malletque adversus singulos separa-
7 tim quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. Nec magni
certaminis ea dimicatio fuit. Sex milia hostium caesa,
duo capta cum praesidio castrorum; nam et castra expugnata
sunt atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur, et Cissis,
propinquum castris oppidum, expugnatur.
8 Ceterum praeda oppidi parvi pretii rerum
9 fuit, supellex barbarica, ac vilium mancipiorum; castra
militem ditavere, non eius modo exercitus qui victus erat,
sed et eius qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus
fere caris rebus, ne gravia impedimenta ferentibus
essent, citra Pyrenaeum relictis.

Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, trans-61
gressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus peditum,
mille equitum, tamquam ad primum adventum Romano-
rum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amis-
saque castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud 2
procul ^{Tarracone} ~~Tarracone~~ classicos milites navalesque socios
vagos palantisque per agros, quod ferme fit ut secun-
dae res negligentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum
magna caede, maiore fuga ad naves compellit; nec diu 3
tius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprime-
retur, trans Hiberum sese recepit. Et Scipio raptim ad 4
famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos
praefectos navium animadvertisset, praesidio Tarracone
modico relicto Emporias cum classe rediit. Vixdum 5
digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat, et Ilergetum populo, qui
obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso cum
eorum ipsorum iuventute agros fidelium Romanis socio-
rum vastat. Excito deinde Scipione hibernis toto cis 6
Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio ^{relictam} ~~relictam~~ ab auctore
defectionis Ilergetum gentem cum infesto exercitu in-
vasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quae
caput eius populi erat, circumsegit intraque dies paucos 7
pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis Ilergetes pecu-
nia etiam multatos in ius dicionemque recepit. Inde in 8
Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos Poenorum,
procedit, atque urbe eorum obsessa Lacetanos auxilium
finitimis ferentes nocte haud procul iam urbe, cum in-
trare vellent, excepit insidiis. Caesa ad duodecim milia; 9
exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per
agros diffugere. Nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua
oppugnantibus hiems tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio 10
fuit, per quos raro umquam nix minus quattuor pedes

alta iacuit; adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat ut ea sola ignibus aliquotiens coniectis ab hoste
11 etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo, cum Amusicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

62 Romae aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt, in quis ingenuum infantem semestrem in foro olitorio triumphum
2 clamasse, et in foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese deiecisse, et navium speciem de caelo adfulsisse, et aedem Spei, quae est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam, et Lanuvi hastam se commovisse et corvum in aedem Iunonis devolasse atque in ipso pulvinari consedissee, et in agro Amiternino multis locis hominum specie procul candida veste visos nec cum ullo congressos, et in Piceno lapidibus pluvisse, et Caere sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia lupum vigili gladium ex vagina
6 raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera prodigia libros adire decemviri iussi; quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno novemdiale sacrum edictum, et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit. Iam primum omnium urbs lustrata est hostiaequae maiores quibus
8 editum est diis caesae, et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium Iunoni portatum est, et signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Aventino dedicaverunt, et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes attenuatae erant, imperatum et supplicatio Fortunae in Algidio; Romae quoque et lectisternium Iuventati et supplicatio ad aedem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa om-

nia pulvinaria indicta, et Genio maiores hostiae caesae quinque, et C. Atilius Serranus praetor vota suscipere 10 iussus, si in decem annos res publica eodem stetisset statu. Haec procurata votaue ex libris Sibyllinis magna 11 ex parte levaverant religione animos.

Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eae le- 63 giones, quae Placentiae hibernabant, sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus idibus Martiis Arimini adesset in castris. Hic in pro- 2 vincia consulatum inire consilium erat memori veterum certaminum cum patribus, quae tribunus plebis et quae postea consul prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat; invisus etiam patribus erat ob novam 3 legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum atque uno patrum adiuvante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator cuive senator pater fuisset maritimam navem, quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectan- 4 dos; quaestus omnis patribus indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterum- 5 que inde consulatum peperit. Ob haec ratus auspiciis 6 ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe, simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit. Ea res ubi 6 palam facta est novam insuper iram infestis iam ante patribus movit: non cum senatu modo sed iam cum diis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere. Consulem 7 ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie diis atque hominibus non paruisse; nunc conscientia spre- torum et Capitolium et sollemnem votorum nuncupationem fugisse, ne die initi magistratus Iovis optimi 8

- maximi templum adiret, ne senatum invisus ipse et sibi uni invisum videret consuleretque, ne Latinas indiceret
- 9 Iovique Latiari sollemne sacrum in monte faceret, ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda, paludatus inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret. Lixae modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus profectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si exilii causa solum vertisset.
- 10 Magis pro maiestate videlicet imperii Arimini quam Romae magistratum initurum et in deversorio hospitali
- 11 quam apud penates suos praetextam sumpturum. Revocandum universi retrahendumque censuerunt et cogendum omnibus prius praesentem in deos hominesque fungi officiis, quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret.
- 12 In eam legationem — legatos enim mitti placuit — Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis eum moverunt quam priore consulatu litterae moverant ab
- 13 senatu missae. Paucos post dies magistratum iniit, immolantique ei vitulus iam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circumstantes cruore re-
- 14 persit; fuga procul etiam maior apud ignaros quid trepidaretur et concursatio fuit. Id a plerisque in omen
- 15 magni terroris acceptum. Legionibus inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio praetore acceptis in Etruriam per Appennini tramites exercitus duci est coeptus.

LIBER XXII

1-7, 39-52

Iam ver adpetebat; itaque Hannibal ex hibernis 1
movit, et nequiquam ante conatus transcendere Appen-
ninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti periculo
moratus ac metu. Galli, quos praedae populationumque 2
conciverat spes, postquam pro eo ut ipsi ex alieno agro
raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse pre-
mique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis videre, ver-
terunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque 3
saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem
levitate, qua consenserant, consensum indicantium, ser-
vatus erat et mutando nunc vestem nunc tegumenta
capitis errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. Ceterum 4
hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex
hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romae idibus
Martiis magistratum iniit. Ibi cum de re publica rettu- 5
lisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos
se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi iustum
imperium, quod auspicium esse? Magistratus id a 6
domo, publicis privatisque penetibus, Latinis feriis actis,
sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncu-
patis secum ferre; nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine 7
auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo nova atque integra

- 8 concipere posse. Augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus
simul locis nuntiata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula,
in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti vigilias equiti
scipionem, quem manu tenuerit, arsisse, et litora crebris
9 ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo sanguine sudasse, et mili-
tes quosdam ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem minui visum,
et Praeneste ardentem lapides caelo cecidisse, et Arpis
10 parmas in caelo visas pugnantesque cum luna solem, et
Capenae duas interdum lunas ortas, et aquas Caeretes
sanguine mixtas fluxisse fontemque ipsum Herculis cru-
entis manasse respersum maculis, et Antii metentibus
11 cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse, et Faleriis caelum
findi velut magno hiato visum quaque patuerit ingens
lumen effulsisse, et sortes attenuatas unamque sua sponte
excidisse ita inscriptam 'Mavors telum suum concutit,'
12 et per idem tempus Romae signum Martis Appia via ac
simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuae speciem caeli
13 ardentis fuisse lanaeque inter imbrem cadentis. Inde
minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides habita: capras la-
natas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in marem, gallum
14 in feminam sese vertisse. His, sicut erant nuntiata,
expositis auctoribusque in curiam introductis consul de
15 religione patres consuluit. Decretum, ut ea prodigia
partim maioribus hostiis partim lactentibus procura-
rentur, et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia pulvina-
16 ria haberetur; cetera, cum decemviri libros inspexissent,
ut ita fierent quem ad modum cordi esse divis e carmini-
17 bus praefarentur. Decemvirorum monitu decretum est,
Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta
fieret, et Iunoni Minervaeque ex argento dona darentur,
et Iunoni Reginae in Aventino Iunonique Sospitae Lanu-
18 vii maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronaeque pecunia

collata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Iunoni Reginae in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret, et ut libertinae et ipsae, unde Feroniae donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent. Haec ubi facta, decemviri Ardeae in foro maiori- 19 bus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum — et eum lectum senatores straverunt — et convivium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac 20 noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum iussus.

Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque dilectu 2 dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse fama erat, cum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur 2 iter, propiorem viam per paludes petit, qua fluvius Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundaverat. Hispanos et 3 Afros et omne veterani robur exercitus admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit, sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset, novissimos ire equites, Magonem 4 inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si taedio laboris longaeque viae, ut est mollis ad talia gens, dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, 5 qua modo praeirent duces, per praealtas fluvii ac profundas voragines hausti paene limo immergentesque se tamen signa sequebantur. Galli neque sustinere se pro- 6 lapsi neque adsurgere ex voraginibus poterant neque 7 aut corpora animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa aegre trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel victis taedio animis procubuissent, inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim morientes; maximeque omnium vigiliae conficiebant

- 8 per quadriduum iam et tres noctes toleratae. Cum omnia obtinentibus aquis nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent
9 corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aqua sarcinis insuper incumbabant aut iumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim acervi tantum quod exstaret aqua quaerentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium cubile
10 dabant. Ipse Hannibal, aeger oculis ex verna primum
11 intemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua exstaret, vectus, vigiliis tamen et nocturno umore palustrique caelo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.
- 3 Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis cum tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat, certumque per praemissos exploratores habuit exercitum Romanum circa Arreti moenia esse.
- 2 Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque et copias ad commeatus expediendos et cetera, quae cognosse in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura inquirendo exsequabatur. Regio erat in primis Italiae fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti;
4 consul ferox ab consulatu priore et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens. Hanc insitam ingenio eius temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat.
- 5 Itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem ferociter omnia ac praepropere acturum; quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque irritare Poenus
6 parat, et laeva relicto hoste Faesulas petens, medio Etruriae agro praedatum profectus, quantam maximam vastitatem potest caedibus incendiisque consuli procul

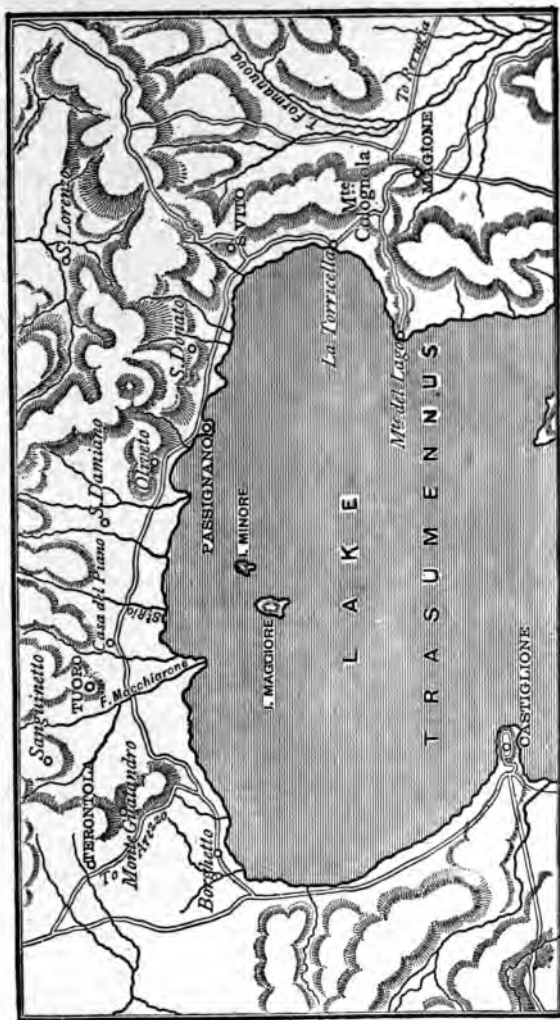
ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse 7
quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante
oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus
ratus, per mediam iam Italiam vagari Poenum atque
obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppugnanda,
ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa 8
suadentibus: collegam exspectandum, ut coniunctis exer-
citibus communi animo consilioque rem gererent, interim 9
equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa praedandi
licentia hostem cohibendum, iratus se ex consilio pro-
ripuit signumque simul itineris pugnaeque cum pro-
posuisset, 'Immo Arreti ante moenia sedeamus' inquit; 10
'hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e
manibus perpopuletur Italiam vastandoque et urendo
omnia ad Romana moenia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc
moverimus quam, sicut olim Camillum a Veis, C. Fla-
minium ab Arretio patres acciverint.' Haec simul 11
increpans cum ocus signa convelli iuberet et ipse in
equum insiluisset, equus repente corruit consulemque
lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus, qui circa 12
erant, velut foedo omine incipiendae rei insuper nuntiatur
signum omni vi moliente signifero convelli nequire.
Conversus ad nuntium 'Num litteras quoque' inquit 'ab 13
senatu adfers, quae me rem gerere vetent? abi, nuntia,
effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus prae metu
obtorpuerunt.' Incedere inde agmen coepit primoribus, 14
super quam quod dissenserant ab consilio, territis etiam
duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus laeto ferocia ducis, cum
spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Tras- 4
mennumque lacum omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis
iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum iniurias acuat. Et 2

iam pervenerat ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles ad-
3 surgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteramque levem armaturam post montis circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus tumulis apte tegentibus locat ut, ubi intras-
sent Romani, obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

4 Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustiiis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium quod ex adverso erat conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput haud detectae
5 insidiae. Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusus suis copiis habuit hostem, 6 signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta
7 eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.

5 Consul percussis omnibus ipse satis, ut in re trepida, impavidus turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores, instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur, et, quacumque adire audirique potest, adhortatur ac stare ac
2 pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis aut imploratione



deum sed vi ac virtute evadendum esse; per medias
acies ferro viam fieri et, quo timoris minus sit, eo minus
ferme periculi esse. Ceterum prae strepitu ac tumultu 3
nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat, tantumque
aberat ut sua signa atque ordines et locum noscerent, ut
vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret
animus, opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis iis quam
tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine maior usus aurium quam
oculorum. Ad gemitus vulnerum ictusque corporum aut 4
armorum et mixtos terrentium paventiumque clamores
circumferebant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium 5
globo illati haerebant, alios redeuntes in pugnam averte-
bat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnis partis nequi- 6
quam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a
fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebant, apparuitque
nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis spem esse, tum 7
sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam
et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per
principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis ante-
signani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione
miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset: fors conglobabat 8
et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem
dabat; tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus
pugnae animus ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum
urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit avertitque cursu
rapidos amnis, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu
ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

Tris ferme horas pugnatum est, et ubique atrociter; 6
circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est.
Eum et robora virorum sequebantur et ipse, quacumque 2
in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat
opem; insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant 3

et tuebantur cives, donec Insuber eques — Ducario nomen erat — facie quoque noscicans consulem 'En' inquit 'hic est' popularibus suis, 'qui legiones nostras cecidit
4 agrosque et urbem est depopulatus! Iam ego hanc victimam manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo.' Subditisque calcaribus equo per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit, obtruncatoque prius armigero qui se infesto venienti obviam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare cupientem triarii obiectis scutis
5 arcuere. Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit; et iam nec lacus nec montes pavori obstabant: per omnia arta praeruptaque velut caeci evadunt, armaque et viri
6 super alios alii praecipitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus umerisque exstare possunt, sese immergunt.
7 Fuere quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit, quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus aut nequiquam fessi vada retro aegerrime repetebant atque ibi ab
8 ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex milia ferme primi agminis per adversos hostis eruptione impigre facta, ignari omnium quae post se agerentur, e saltu evasere, et cum in tumulto quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset neque scire nec perspicere prae caligine
9 poterant. Inclinata denique re cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique perditas res stratumque ostendere
10 foede Romanam aciem. Itaque, ne in conspectos procul immitteretur eques, sublatiis raptim signis quam citatissimo
11 simo poterant agmine sese abripuerunt. Postero die, cum super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem

dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dederunt; quae 12 Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes coniecti.

Haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter 7 paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim 2 milia Romanorum in acie caesa; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam diversis itineribus urbem petiere; duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea ex 3 vulneribus periere. Multiplex caedes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis; ego, praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex 4 vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui. Hannibal captivorum qui Latini nomi- 5 nis essent sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri iussisset, Flamini quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit.

Romae ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti 6 terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. Matronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades adlata 7 quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percunctantur. Et cum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo 8 ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor 'Pugna' inquit 'magna victi sumus.' Et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio impleti rumoribus domos referunt consulem cum magna parte copiarum caesum, superesse paucos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos 9 aut captos ab hoste. Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, 10 tot in curas distracti animi eorum erant, quorum pro-

pinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium
quae cuiusque suorum fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis
11 certum habet quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac
deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas maior prope mulierum
quam virorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem aut
nuntios de iis opperiens, circumfundebanturque obviis
sciscitantes, neque avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam
12 ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus
digredientium ab nuntiis cerneret, ut cuique laeta aut
tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantisque aut consolantis rede-
untibus domos circumfusus. Feminarum praecipue et
13 gaudia insignia erant et luctus. Unam in ipsa porta
sospiti filio repente oblatam in complexu eius exspirasse
ferunt; alteram, cui mors fili falso nuntiata erat, maes-
tam sedentem domi ad primum conspectum redeuntis
14 fili gaudio nimio exanimatam. Senatum praetores per
dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia
retinent consultantes, quonam duce aut quibus copiis
resisti victoribus Poenis posset.

39-52

39 'Si aut collegam, id quod mallet, tui similem, L.
Aemili, haberes aut tu collegae tui esses similis, super-
2 vacanea esset oratio mea; nam et duo boni consules
etiam me indicente omnia e re publica fideque vestra
faceretis, et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec con-
3 silia animis acciperetis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te
talem virum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem
video nequiquam et virum bonum et civem fore, si altera
parte claudente re publica malis consiliis idem ac bonis

iuris et potestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi 4
minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale
futurum censes; nescio an infestior hic adversarius quam
ille hostis maneat te, cum tu cum illo in acie tantum, cum 5
hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus sis certaturus, et ad-
versus Hannibalem legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac
peditibus pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuis militibus
te sit oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit 6
C. Flamini memoria; tamen ille consul demum et in
provincia et ad exercitum coepit furere; hic, priusquam
peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc
quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem,
insanit. Et qui tantas iam nunc procellas proelia atque 7
acies iactando inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam
iuventutem censes facturum et ubi extemplo res verba
sequitur? Atqui si, quod facturum se denuntiat, ex- 8
templo pugnaverit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc
genus, hostem hunc ignoro aut nobilior alius Trasum-
menno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tem- 9
pus adversus unum est, et ego contemnendo potius quam
adpetendo gloriam modum excesserim; sed ita res se
habet: una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem est,
qua ego gessi. Nec eventus modo hoc docet — stultorum 10
iste magister est —, sed eadem ratio, quae fuit, futura,
donec res eadem manebunt, immutabilis est. In Italia 11
bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena
civium ac sociorum sunt; armis viris equis commeatibus
iuvant iuvabuntque: id iam fidei documentum in ad- 12
versis rebus nostris dederunt; meliores prudentiores
constantiores nos tempus diesque facit; Hannibal contra
in aliena, in hostili est terra, inter omnia inimica infesta- 13
que, procul ab domo ab patria; neque illi terra neque

- mari est pax; nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nulla moenia;
14 nihil usquam sui videt; in diem rapto vivit; partem vix
tertiam exercitus eius habet quem Hiberum amnem traiecit;
plures fame quam ferro absumpti, nec his paucis iam
15 victus suppeditat. Dubitas ergo quin sedendo superaturi
simus eum qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non
16 supplementum, non pecuniam habeat? Quam diu pro Gereoni,
castelli Apuliae inopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis moenibus
sedet! Sed ne adversus te quidem de me
17 gloriabor: Servilius atque Atilius, proximi consules, vide
quem ad modum eum ludificati sint. Haec una salutis est
via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi magis
18 quam hostes facient. Idem enim tui quod hostium milites
volent, idem Varro consul Romanus quod Hannibal Poenus
imperator cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet.
Resistes autem, si adversus famam rumoresque hominum
satis firmus steteris, si te neque collegae vana gloria
neque tua falsa infamia moverit.
19 Veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, extinguere numquam:
vanam gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit.
20 Sine timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem
pro perito belli vocent. Malo te sapiens hostis metuat
quam stulti cives laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet
Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet. Nec ego ut nihil
agatur moneo, sed ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna;
21 tuae potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia sint; armatus intentusque
sis; neque occasionei tuae desis neque suam occasionem
22 hosti des. Omnia non properanti clara certaue erunt;
festinatio improvida est et caeca.’
40 Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane laeta fuit,
magis fatentis ea quae diceret vera quam facilia factu
-

esse. Dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse: 2
quid consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temera-
rium virium atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare in- 3
cendium priore consulatu semustum effugisse; optare
ut omnia prospere evenirent; sed si quid adversi caderet,
hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium
caput obiecturum.

Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt prose- 4
quentibus primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem sua
plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, cum dignitates de-
essent. Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu 5
ac vetere, castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent
propius Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne
robur virium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium 6
aetatem excusantem Romam miserunt, Geminum Ser-
vilius in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium
peditum equitumque duobus milibus praeficiunt. Han- 7
nibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias
cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. Non 8
solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus supera-
bat, sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat
omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus 9
erat, in urbes munitas convecto, ut vix decem dierum,
quod compertum postea est, frumentum superesset,
Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si
maturitas temporum expectata foret.

Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio 41
materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis prae-
datoribus tumultuario proelio ac procursu magis militum
quam ex praeparato aut iussu imperatorum orto haud-
quaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septin- 2
genti caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque

- occisis. Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu
3 insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cuius eo die — nam
alternis imperitabant — imperium erat, Varrone indig-
nante ac vociferante emissum hostem e manibus debella-
4 rique, ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum
haud aegerrime pati; quin potius credere velut inesca-
tam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime
5 militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam
sua nota erant; dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas
6 prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque
locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte
proxima nihil praeter arma ferente secum milite castra
plena omnis fortunae publicae privataeque relinquit
7 transque proximos montis laeva pedites instructos con-
dit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem mediam
8 traducit, ut diripiendis velut desertis fuga dominorum
castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret.
9 Crebri relictis in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse
longius spatium fuga praeciperet, falsa imagine castro-
rum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere
in locis consules voluisse.
- 42 Ubi illuxit, subductae primo stationes, deinde pro-
pius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit.
2 Tum satis comperta solitudine in castris concursus fit
ad praetoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo
trepidam ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint,
quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes.
3 Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri iuberent ducerentque
ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra diripienda. Et
consul alter velut unus turbae militaris erat; Paulus etiam
4 atque etiam dicere providendum praecavendumque esse;
postremo, cum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem

seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui ubi ad- 5
quitavit portis, subsistere extra munimenta ceteris iussis ipse cum duobus equitibus vallum intravit, speculatusque omnia cum cura renuntiat insidias profecto esse: ignes in 6
parte castrorum quae vergat in hostem relictos; tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relicta; argentum quibusdam locis temere per vias velut obiectum ad praedam vidisse. Quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos 7
nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux defuit: nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi. 8
Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, nuntiarum iam efferenti porta signa collegae iussit. Quod quamquam Varro aegre est passus, Fla- 9
mini tamen recens casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades religionem animo incussit. Di prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibere 10
imminentem pestem Romanis: nam forte ita evenit ut, cum referri signa in castra iubenti consuli milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis, 11
qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos; deductique ad consules nuntiant omnem exercitum Han-
nibalis trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules imperii potentes fecit, cum 12
ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia maiestatem solvisset.

Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos 43
quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequiquam detecta fraude in castra rediit. Ibi plures dies propter 2
inopiam frumenti manere nequit, novaque consilia in

- dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex colluvione omnium gentium sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur.
- 3 Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum quærentiumque annonam primo, postremo famem, et mercennarios milites maxime Hispani generis de transitione cepisse
- 4 consilium fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut relicto peditatu
- 5 omni cum equitibus se proriperet. Cum hæc consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliae loca, simul quod, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia impeditiora levibus ingeniis essent. Profectus
- 6 est nocte ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montis exploratis cum relatum esset, visum procul hostium agmen, tum de
- 7 insequendo eo consilia agitari coepta. Cum utriusque consulis eadem, quae ante semper fuisset, sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo præter Servilium prioris anni consulem adsentiretur, ex maioris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas
- 8 urgente fato profecti sunt. Prope eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Volturno vento, qui campis
- 9 torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare præcipue futurum erat, cum aciem dirigerent, ipsi aversi, terga tantum adflante vento, in occaecatum pulvere offuso hostem pugnaturi.
- 44 Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum, ut ventum ad Cannas est et in conspectu Poenum habe-

bant, bina castra communiunt eodem ferme intervallo quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante copiis divis. Aufidus 2 amnis utrisque castris adfluens aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum 3 erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium. Hannibal spem 4 nactus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, derigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum procursatione hostis. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia 5 consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro Paulo speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret, testareturque deos hominesque hic, nullam penes se 6 culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam velut usu cepisset Italiam: se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, 7 si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret: videret ut, quibus lingua prompta ac temeraria, aequae in pugna vigerent manus.

Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus 45 teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum 2 aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam tur- 3 bam cum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque in ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. Id vero adeo indignum 4 visum, ab tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana

terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen derigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod
5 summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuit. Itaque postero die Varro, cui sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare quam
6 non adiuuvare consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem: in dextro cornu — id erat flumini propius — Romanos equites locant, deinde
7 pedites; laevum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt; iaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima
8 acies facta. Consules cornua tenere, Terentius laevum, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

46 Hannibal luce prima Baliaribus levique alia armatura praemissa transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat,
2 ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam laevo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent,
3 interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam [magna ex parte] crederes aciem: ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad
4 Trasumennum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesim adsueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Ante alios habitus gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum tum specie terribilis erat:
6 Galli super umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis prae-

textis purpura tunicis candore miro fulgentibus constiterant. Numerus omnium peditum, qui tum stetere in acie, milium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces 7 cornibus praeerant sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol, seu de industria ita locatis seu quod forte ita stetere, 8 peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis in meridiem, Poenis in septemtrionem versis; ventus — 9 Volturum regionis incolae vocant — adversus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

Clamore sublato procursum ab auxiliis et pugna levi-47 bus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque laevum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrat, minime equestris more pugnae: frontibus enim 2 adversis concurrendum erat, quia nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies cladebant. In directum utrimque nitentes stantibus 3 ac confertis postremo turba equis vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt. Sub eques-4 tris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, primo et viribus et animis par, dum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem Romani, diu ac saepe conisi, obliqua 5 fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie. Impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem institere, 6 ac tenore uno per praeceps pavore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem illati postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque 7 reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique

- 8 steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus aequavit frontem primum, dein cedendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant, irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas, mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostis.
- 9 Hinc Romani defuncti nequiquam proelio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, adversus
- 10 Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus circumfusus, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.
- 48 Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consertum proelium erat,
- 2 segne primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidae, praeter solita arma telaque gladios occultos sub loriceis habentes, specie transfugarum cum
- 3 ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et iaculis ante pedes hostium proiectis in mediam aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considerare ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum proelium
- 4 ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum adreptis scutis, quae passim inter acervos caesorum corporum strata erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites caedentes stragem ingentem ac maiorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum
- 5 fecerunt. Cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam spe proelium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte praeerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim
- 6 fugientis mittit, Hispanos et Gallos equites Afris prope iam fessis caede magis quam pugna adiungit.
- 49 Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quamquam primo statim

proelio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit 2
saep̄ cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium
restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis
postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum
vires deficiebant. Tum nuntianti cuidam, iussisse con- 3
sulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem
ferunt 'Quam mallem vinctos mihi traderet.' Equitum
pedestre proelium, quale iam haud dubia hostium vic- 4
toria, fuit, cum victi mori in vestigio mallent quam fugere,
victores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent quos
pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen iam paucos 5
superantis et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati
omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam qui poterant repetebant.
Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum cum praetervehens equo 6
sedentem in saxo cruore oppletum consulem vidisset,
'L. Aemili,' inquit 'quem unum insontem culpaē cladis 7
hodiernae dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et
tibi virium aliquid superest et comes ego te tollere possum
ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis 8
feceris; etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est.'
Ad ea consul: 'Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute 9
esto; sed cave frustra miserando exiguum tempus e
manibus hostium evadendi absumas. Abi, nuntia publice 10
patribus, urbem Romanam muniant ac, priusquam victor
hostis advenit, praesidiis firment; privatim Q. Fabio,
L. Aemilium praeceptorum eius memorem et vixisse
adhuc et mori. Me in hac strage militum meorum patere 11
exspirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim aut accusator
collegae existam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam
protegam.' Haec eos agentis prius turba fugientium 12
civium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem, ignorantes
quis esset, obruere telis, Lentulum inter tumultum

- 13 abripuit equus. Tum undique effuse fugiunt. Septem
milia hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo
ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui extemplo
a Carthalone atque equitibus nullo munimento tegente
14 vicum circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu forte, seu
consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini, cum quinquaginta
15 fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta
quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo milia septingenti
equites et tantadem prope civium sociorumque pars
16 caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L.
Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni
militum, consulares quidam praetoriiue et aedilicii —
inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium nu-
merant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis
17 ante consul fuerat —, octoginta praeterea aut senatores
aut qui eos magistratus gessissent unde in senatum legi
deberent, cum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti
18 essent. Capta eo proelio tria milia peditum et equites
mille et quingenti dicuntur.
- 50 Haec est pugna Cannensis, Aliensi cladi nobilitate
2 par, ceterum uti eis, quae post pugnam accidere, levior,
quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior
3 foediorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem pro-
didit, ita exercitum servavit; ad Cannas fugientem con-
sulem vix quinquaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis
prope totus exercitus fuit.
- 4 Binis in castris cum multitudo semiermis sine ducibus
esset, nuntium qui in maioribus erant mittunt, dum proe-
lio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna
hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canu-
5 sium abituros esse. Eam sententiam alii totam asper-
nari: cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire,

cum aequae coniungi possent? Quia videlicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent obicere. Aliis non tam sententia displicere quam animus deesse. Tum P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum 'Capi ergo mavultis' inquit 'ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, aestimarique capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus, Romanus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos quaeratur? Non tu, si quidem L. Aemili consulis, qui se bene mori quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum virorum, qui circa eum cumulati iacent, cives estis. Sed antequam opprimit lux maioraque hostium agmina obsaepiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque audacia via fit quamvis per confertos hostis. Cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstet, disicias. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et rem publicam salvam vultis.' Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque facto per medios vadit hostis; et cum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidae iacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis in maiora castra ad sescentos evaserunt, atque inde protinus alio magno agmine adiuncto Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Haec apud victos magis impetu animorum, quem ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cuiusquam agebantur.

Hannibali victori cum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur suaderentque ut, tanto perfunctus bello, diei quod reliquum esset noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal, praefectus equitum, minime cessandum ratus 'Immo, ut quid hac

- pugna sit actum scias, die quinto' inquit 'victor in Capitolio epulaberis. Sequere; cum equite, ut prius
3 venisse quam venturum sciant, praecedam.' Hannibali nimis laeta res est visa maiorque quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. Itaque voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait; ad consilium pensandum temporis opus
4 esse. Tum Maharbal: 'Non omnia nimirum eidem didere: vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti nescis.' Mora eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.
- 5 Postero die, ubi primum illuxit, ire ad spolia legenda foedamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insistunt.
6 lacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat aut fuga. Adsurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi
7 sunt; quosdam et iacentis vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt, nudantis cervicem iugulumque et
8 reliquum sanguinem iubentes haurire; inventi quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentisque ora superiecta humo inter-
9 cluisse spiritum apparebat. Praecipue convertit omnes subtractus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus naso auribusque laceratis, cum ille manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus in rabiem ira versa laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset.
- 52 Spoliis ad multum diei lectis Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda et omnium primum brachio
2 obiecto flumine eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus labore vigiliis vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius spe
3 deditio est facta. Pacti, ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecentis nummis quadrigatis, in socios ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretio persoluto

cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostis acceperunt, traditique in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea cum ex 4 maioribus castris, quibus satis virium et animi fuit, ad quattuor milia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem condicione qua altera tradita hosti. Praeda in- 5 gens parta est, et praeter equos virosque et si quid argenti — quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat, nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur — omnis cetera praeda diripienda data est. Tum 6 sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit. Ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.

Eos qui Canusium perfugerant mulier Apula, nomine 7 Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, moenibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento veste viatico etiam iuvit, pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habiti sunt.

LIBER XXVI

1-15

- 1 Cn. Fulvius Centimalus P. Sulpicius Galba consules cum idibus Martiis magistratum inissent, senatu in Capitolium vocato de re publica, de administratione belli, de provinciis exercitibusque patres consuluerunt.
- 2 Q. Fulvio Ap. Claudio, prioris anni consulibus, prorogatum imperium est atque exercitus, quos habebant, decreti adiectumque, ne a Capua, quam obsidebant,
- 3 abscederent prius quam expugnassent. Ea tum cura maxime intentos habebat Romanos, non ab ira tantum, quae in nullam umquam civitatem iustior fuit, quam
- 4 quod urbs tam nobilis ac potens, sicut defectione sua traxerat aliquot populos, ita recepta inclinatura rursus
- 5 animos videbatur ad veteris imperii respectum. Et praetoribus prioris anni, M. Iunio in Etruria, P. Sempronio in Gallia, cum binis legionibus, quas habuerant, pro-
- 6 rogatum est imperium; prorogatum et M. Marcello ut pro consule in Sicilia reliqua belli perficeret eo ex-
- 7 ercitu, quem haberet; si supplemento opus esset, suppleret de legionibus, quibus P. Cornelius propraetor
- 8 in Sicilia praeesset, dum ne quem militem legeret ex eo numero, quibus senatus missionem reditumque in
- 9 patriam negasset ante belli finem. C. Sulpicio, cui Sicilia evenerat, duae legiones, quas P. Cornelius habuisset, decretae et supplementum de exercitu Cn. Fulvii,

qui priore anno in Apulia foede caesus fugatusque erat. Huic generi militum senatus eundem quem Cannensibus 10 finem statuerat militae. Additum etiam utrorumque ignominiae est, ne in oppidis hibernarent neve hiberna propius ullam urbem decem milibus passuum aedificarent. L. Cornelio in Sardinia duae legiones datae, quibus Q. 11 Mucius praefuerat; supplementum, si opus esset, consules scribere iussi. T. Otacilio et M. Valerio Siciliae Graeciae- 12 que ora cum legionibus classibusque, quibus praeerant, decretae; quinquaginta Graecia cum legione una, centum Sicilia cum duabus legionibus habebant naves. Tribus 13 et viginti legionibus Romanis eo anno bellum terra marique est gestum.

Principio eius anni cum de litteris L. Marcii referretur, 2 res gestae magnificae senatui visae; titulus honoris, quod imperio non populi iussu, non ex auctoritate patrum dato 'propraetor senatui' scripserat, magnam partem hominum offendebat: rem mali exempli esse, imperatores legi 2 ab exercitibus et sollemne auspicandorum comitiorum in castra et provincias procul ab legibus magistratibusque ad militarem temeritatem transferri. Et cum quidam 3 referendum ad senatum censerent, melius visum differri eam consultationem, donec proficiscerentur equites, qui ab Marcio litteras attulerant. Rescribi de frumento et 4 vestimentis exercitus placuit eam utramque rem curae fore senatui; adscribi autem 'propraetori L. Marcio' non placuit, ne id ipsum, quod consultationi reliquerant, pro praeiudicato ferret. Dimissis equitibus de nulla re 5 prius consules rettulerunt, omniumque in unum sententiae congruebant, agendum cum tribunis plebis esse, primo quoque tempore ad plebem ferrent, quem cum imperio mitti placeret in Hispaniam ad eum exercitum, cui Cn.

- 6 Scipio imperator praeuisset. Ea res cum tribunis acta promulgataque est.
- 7 Sed aliud certamen occupaverat animos. C. Sempronius Blaesus die dicta Cn. Fulvium ob exercitum in Apulia amissum in contionibus vexabat, multos imperatores temeritate atque inscitia exercitum in locum
- 8 praecipitem perduxisse dictitans, neminem praeter Cn. Fulvium ante corrupisse omnibus vitiis legiones suas, quam proderet. Itaque vere dici posse prius eos perisse, quam viderent hostem, nec ab Hannibale, sed ab im-
- 9 peratore suo victos esse. Neminem, cum suffragium ineat, satis cernere, cui imperium, cui exercitum permittat. Quid interfuisse inter Ti. Sempronium et Cn.
- 10 Fulvium? Ti. Sempronium, cum ei servorum exercitus datus esset, brevi effecisse disciplina atque imperio, ut nemo eorum generis ac sanguinis sui memor in acie esset, praesidio sociis, hostibus terrori essent; Cumas, Beneventum aliasque urbes eos velut e faucibus Han-
- 11 nibalis ereptas populo Romano restituisset: Cn. Fulvium Quiritium Romanorum exercitum, honeste genitos, liberaliter educatos servilibus vitiis imbuisset. Ergo effecisset, ut feroces et inquieti inter socios, ignavi et imbelles inter hostes essent nec impetum modo Poe-
- 12 norum, sed ne clamorem quidem sustinere possent. Nec hercule mirum esse cessisset milites in acie, cum primus
- 13 omnium imperator fugeret; magis mirari se aliquos stantis cecidisse, et non omnes comites Cn. Fulvi fuisse pavoris ac fugae. C. Flaminium, L. Paulum, L. Postumium, Cn. ac P. Scipiones cadere in acie maluisse quam
- 14 deserere circumventos exercitus: Cn. Fulvium prope unum nuntium deleti exercitus Romam redisse. Facinus indignum esse, Cannensem exercitum, quod ex acie fugerit,

in Siciliam deportatum, ne prius inde dimittatur, quam hostis ex Italia decesserit, et hoc idem in Cn. Fulvi legionibus nuper decretum: Cn. Fulvio fugam ex proelio ipsius 15 temeritate commisso impunitam esse, et eum in ganea lustrisque, ubi iuventam egerit, senectutem acturum, milites, qui nihil aliud peccaverint, quam quod imperatoris similes fuerint, relegatos prope in exilium ignominiosam pati militiam. Adeo imparem libertatem Romae diti ac pauperi, honorato atque inhonorato esse. Reus 3 ab se culpam in milites transferebat: eos ferociter pugnam poscentis productos in aciem, non eo quo voluerint, quia serum diei fuerit, sed postero die, et tempore et loco aequo instructos, seu famam seu vim hostium non sustinuisse. Cum effuse omnes fugerent, se quoque turba ablatum, 2 ut Varronem Cannensi pugna, ut multos alios imperatores. Qui autem solum se restantem prodesse rei 3 publicae, nisi si mors sua remedio publicis cladibus futura esset, potuisse? Non se inopia commeatus in 4 loca iniqua incaute deductum, non agmine inexplorato euntem insidiis circumventum; vi aperta, armis, acie victum. Nec suorum animos nec hostium in potestate habuisse: suum cuique ingenium audaciam aut pavorem facere. Bis est accusatus pecuniaque anquisitum; 5 tertio testibus datis, cum, praeterquam quod omnibus probris onerabatur, iurati permulti dicerent fugae pavorisque initium a praetore ortum, ab eo desertos milites, cum haud vanum timorem ducis crederent, terga 6 dedisse, tanta ira accensa est, ut capite anquirendum contio succlamaret. De eo quoque novum certamen 7 ortum; nam cum bis pecunia anquisisset, tertio capitis se anquirere diceret, tribuni plebis appellati collegae 8 negarunt se in mora esse, quo minus, quod ei more maio-

rum permissum esset, seu legibus seu moribus mallet, anquireret, quoad vel capitis vel pecuniae iudicasset
9 privato. Tum Sempronius perduellionis se iudicare Cn. Fulvio dixit diemque comitiis ab C. Calpurnio praetore
10 urbano petit. Inde alia spes ab reo temptata est, si adesse in iudicio Q. Fulvius frater posset, florens tum et fama rerum gestarum et propinqua spe Capuae potiundae.
11 Id cum per litteras miserabiliter pro fratris capite scriptas petisset Fulvius, negassentque patres e re publica esse
12 abscedi a Capua, postquam dies comitiorum aderat, Cn. Fulvius exulatum Tarquinius abiit. Id ei iustum exilium esse scivit plebs.

4 Inter haec vis omnis belli versa in Capuam erat; ob-
sidebatur tamen acrius quam oppugnabatur; nec aut famem tolerare servitia ac plebs poterant aut mittere nuntios ad Hannibalem per custodias tam artas. In-
2 ventus est Numida, qui acceptis litteris evasurum se professus praestaret promissum. Per media Romana castra nocte egressus spem accendit Campanis, dum aliquid virium superesset, ab omni parte eruptionem
3 temptandi. Ceterum in multis certaminibus equestria proelia ferme prospera faciebant, pedite superabantur. Sed nequaquam tam laetum vincere quam triste vinci ulla parte erat ab obsesso et prope expugnato hoste.
4 Initia tandem ratio est, ut quod viribus deerat arte aequaretur. Ex omnibus legionibus electi sunt iuvenes maxime vigore ac levitate corporum veloces; eis Parmae breviores quam equestres et septena iacula quaternos longa pedes data praefixa ferro, quale hastis velitaribus
5 inest. Eos singulos in equos suos accipientes equites adsuefecerunt et vehi post sese et desilire perniciter,
6 ubi datum signum esset. Id postquam adsuétude

cotidiana satis intrepide fieri visum est, in campum qui medius inter castra murumque erat, adversus instructos 7 Campanorum equites processerunt, et, ubi ad coniectum teli ventum est, signo dato velites desiliunt. Pedestris inde acies ex equitatu repente in hostium equites incurrit, iaculaque cum impetu alia super alia emittunt. Quibus 8 plurimis in equos virosque passim coniectis permultos vulneraverunt, pavoris tamen plus ex re nova atque inopinata iniectum est, et in perculsum hostem equites invecti fugam stragemque eorum usque ad portas fecerunt. 9 Inde equitatu quoque superior Romana res fuit. Institutum, ut velites in legionibus essent. Auctorem peditum 10 equiti immiscendorum centurionem Q. Navium ferunt, honorique id ei apud imperatorem fuisse.

Cum in hoc statu ad Capuam res essent, Hanni- 5 balem diversum Tarentinae arcis potiundae Capuaeque retinendae trahebant curae. Vicit tamen respectus Capuae, in quam omnium sociorum hostiumque conversos videbat animos, documento futurae, qualemcumque eventum defectio ab Romanis habuisset. Igitur magna 3 parte impedimentorum relicta in Brutiis et omni graviore armatu cum delectis peditum equitumque quam poterat aptissimus ad maturandum iter in Campaniam contendit. Secuti tamen tam raptim euntem tres et triginta elephantii. In valle occulta post Tifata mon- 4 tem imminentem Capuae consedit. Adveniens cum castellum Galatiam praesidio vi pulso cepisset, in circumsedentis Capuam se vertit, praemisissisque nuntiis 5 Capuam, quo tempore castra Romana adgressurus esset, ut eodem et illi ad eruptionem parati portis omnibus sese effunderent, ingentem praebuit terrorem. Nam 6 alia parte ipse adortus est, alia Campani omnes, equites

peditesque, et cum iis Punicum praesidium, cui Bostar
7 et Hanno praeerant, erupit. Romani ut in re trepida,
ne ad unam concurrento partem aliquid indefensi re-
8 linquerent, ita inter sese copias partiti sunt: Ap. Claudius
Campanis, Fulvius Hannibali est oppositus; C. Nero
propraetor cum equitibus sex legionum via, quae Sues-
sulam fert, C. Fulvius Flaccus legatus cum sociali equi-
9 tatu constitit e regione Volturni amnis. Proelium non
solito modo clamore ac tumultu est coeptum, sed ad
alium virorum, equorum armorumque sonum dispo-
sita in muris Campanorum imbellis multitudo tantum
cum aeris crepitu, qualis in defectu lunae silenti nocte
cieri solet, edidit clamorem, ut averteret etiam pugnan-
10 tium animos. Campanos facile a vallo Appius arcebat;
11 maior vis ab altera parte Fulvium Hannibal et Poeni
urgebant. Legio ibi sexta loco cessit, qua pulsa cohors
Hispanorum cum tribus elephantis usque ad vallum
pervasit, ruperatque mediam aciem Romanorum et in
ancipiti spe ac periculo erat, utrum in castra perrum-
12 peret an intercluderetur a suis. Quem pavorem legionis
periculumque castrorum Fulvius ubi vidit, Q. Navium
primoresque alios centurionum hortatur, ut cohortem
hostium sub vallo pugnantem invadant: in summo
13 discrimine rem verti; aut viam dandam iis esse, et minore
conatu, quam condensam aciem rupissent, in castra
irrupturos, aut conficiendos sub vallo esse. Nec magni
14 certaminis rem fore: paucos esse et ab suis interclusos,
et quae, dum paveat Romanus, interrupta acies videatur,
eam, si se utrimque in hostem vertat, ancipiti pugna
15 medios circumventuram. Navius ubi haec imperatoris
dicta accepit, secundi hastati signum ademptum signifero
in hostis inferit, iacturum in medios eos minitans, ni se

propere sequantur milites et partem capessant pugnae. Ingens corpus erat, et arma honestabant, et sublatum 16 alte signum converterat ad spectaculum cives hostesque. Ceterum postquam iam ad signa pervenerat Hispanorum, 17 tum undique in eum tragulae coniectae et prope tota in unum acies versa; sed neque multitudo hostium neque telorum vis arcere impetum eius viri potuerunt. Et M. Atilius legatus primi principis ex eadem legione signum 6 inferre in cohortem Hispanorum coepit; et qui castris praeerant L. Porcius Licinus et T. Popilius legati pro vallo acriter propugnant elephantosque transgredientes in ipso vallo conficiunt. Quorum corporibus cum oppleta fossa 2 esset, velut aggere aut ponte iniecto transitum hostibus dedit. Ibi super stragem iacentium elephantorum atrox edita caedes. Altera in parte castrorum iam impulsus 3 erant Campani Punicumque praesidium et sub ipsa porta Capuae, quae Vulturnum fert, pugnabatur; neque tam armati irrupentibus Romanis resistebant, quam porta 4 ballistis scorpionibusque instructa missilibus procul hostis arcebat. Et suppressit impetum Romanorum vulnus 5 imperatoris Ap. Claudii, cui suos ante prima signa adhortanti sub laevo umero summum pectus gaeso ictum est. Magna vis tamen hostium ante portam est caesa, ceteri trepidi in urbem compulsi. Et Hannibal, postquam co- 6 hortis Hispanorum stragem vidit summaque vi castra hostium defendi, omissa oppugnatione recipere signa et convertere agmen peditum obiecto ab tergo equitatu, ne hostis instaret, coepit. Legionum ardor ingens ad hostem 7 insequendum fuit; Flaccus receptui cani iussit, satis ad utrumque profectum ratus, ut et Campani, quam haud multum in Hannibale praesidii esset, et ipse Hannibal sentiret. Caesa eo die qui huius pugnae auctores sunt 8

octo milia hominum de Hannibalis exercitu, tria ex Campanis tradunt, signaque Carthaginiensibus quindecim adempta, duodeviginti Campanis. Apud alios nequaquam tantam molem pugnae inveni plusque pavoris quam certaminis fuisse, cum inopinato in castra Romana Numidae Hispanique cum elephantis irrupissent, elephantis per media castra vadentes stragem tabernaculorum ingenti sonitu ac fugam abruptentium vincula iumentorum facerent; fraudem quoque super tumultum adiectam immissis ab Hannibale, qui habitu Italico gnari Latinae linguae iuberent consulum verbis, quoniam amissa castra essent, pro se quemque militum in proximos montes fugere; sed eam celeriter cognitam fraudem oppressamque magna caede hostium; elephantos igni e castris exactos. Hoc ultimum — utcumque initum finitumque est — ante deditionem Capuae proelium fuit. Medix tuticus, qui summus magistratus apud Campanos est, eo anno Seppius Loesius erat, loco obscuro tenuique fortuna ortus. Matrem eius quondam pro pupillo eo procurantem familiare ostentum, cum respondisset haruspex summum quod esset imperium Capuae perventurum ad eum puerum, nihil ad eam spem adgnoscentem dixisse ferunt ‘ne tu perditas res Campanorum narras, ubi summus honos ad filium meum perveniet.’ Ea ludificatio veri et ipsa in verum vertit; nam cum fame ferroque urgerentur nec spes ulla superesset sisti posse, iis, qui nati in spem honorum erant, honores detrectantibus, Loesius querendo desertam ac proditam a primoribus Capuam summum magistratum ultimus omnium Campanorum cepit.

7 Ceterum Hannibal ut nec hostis elici amplius ad pugnam vidit neque per castra eorum perrumpi ad

Capuam posse, ne suos quoque commeatus interclu- 2
derent novi consules, abscedere irrito incepto et movere
a Capua statuit castra. Multa secum, quonam inde 3
ire pergeret, volventi subiit animum impetus caput
ipsum belli Romam petendi, cuius rei semper cupitae
praetermissam occasionem post Cannensem pugnam et
alii vulgo fremebant et ipse non dissimulabat: necopi- 4
nato pavore ac tumultu non esse desperandum aliquam
partem urbis occupari posse; et, si Roma in discri- 5
mine esset, Capuam extemplo omissuros aut ambo im-
peratores Romanos aut alterum ex iis, et, si divisissent
copias, utrumque infirmiore factum aut sibi aut Cam-
panis bene gerendae rei fortunam daturus esse. Una ea
cura angebat, ne, ubi abscessisset, extemplo dederentur 6
Campani. Numidam promptum ad omnia audenda
agendaque donis perlicit, ut litteris acceptis specie trans-
fugae castra Romana ingressus altera parte clam Capuam
pervadat. Litterae autem erant adhortatione plenae: 7
profectionem suam, quae salutaris illis foret, abstracturam
ad defendendam Romam ab oppugnanda Capua duces
atque exercitus Romanos. Ne desponderent animos; 8
tolerando paucos dies totam soluturos obsidionem. Inde 9
navis in flumine Vulturno comprehensas subigi ad id, quod
iam ante praesidii causa fecerat, castellum iussit. Quarum 10
ubi tantam copiam esse, ut una nocte traici posset exer-
citus, adlatum est, cibariis decem dierum praeparatis
deductas nocte ad fluvium legiones ante lucem traiecit.

Id priusquam fieret, ita futurum compertum ex trans- 8
fugis Fulvius Flaccus senatui Romam cum scripsisset, varie
animi hominum pro cuiusque ingenio adfecti sunt. Ut in 2
re tam trepida senatu extemplo vocato P. Cornelius, cui
Asinae cognomen erat, omnes duces exercitusque ex tota

Italia neque Capuae neque ullius alterius rei memor ad
3 urbis praesidium revocabat; Fabius Maximus abscedi a
Capua terrerique et circumagi ad nutus comminationesque
4 Hannibalis flagitiosum ducebat: qui ad Cannas victor ire
tamen ad urbem ausus non esset, eum a Capua repulsum
5 spem potiundae urbis Romae cepisse? Non ad Romam
obsidendam, sed ad Capuae liberandam obsidionem ire.
Romam cum eo exercitu, qui ad urbem esset, Iovem
foederum ruptorum ab Hannibale testem deosque alios
6 defensuros esse. Has diversas sententias media sententia
P. Valerii Flacci vicit, qui utriusque rei memor imperatori-
bus, qui ad Capuam essent, scribendum censuit, quid ad
urbem praesidii esset; quantas autem Hannibal copias
duceret aut quanto exercitu ad Capuam obsidendam opus
7 esset, ipsos scire. Si ita Romam e ducebus alter et exer-
citus pars mitti posset, ut ab reliquo et duce et exercitu
Capua recte obsideretur, inter se compararent Claudius
8 Fulviusque, utri obsidenda Capua, utri ad prohibendam
9 obsidione patriam Romam veniundum esset. Hoc sena-
tus consulto Capuam perlato Q. Fulvius proconsul, cui,
collega ex vulnere aegro, digrediundum Romam erat, e
tribus exercitibus milite electo, ad quindecim milia
10 peditum, mille equites Vulturum traducit. Inde cum
Hannibalem Latina via iturum satis comperisset, ipse per
Appiae municipia quaeque propter eam viam sunt,
11 Setiam, Coram, Lavinium praemisit, ut commeatus para-
tos et in urbibus haberent et ex agris deviis in viam
proferrent praesidiaque in urbes contraherent, ut sua
cuique res publica in manu esset.
9 Hannibal quo die Vulturum est transgressus, haud
2 procul a flumine castra posuit; postero die praeter
Cales in agrum Sidicinum pervenit. Ibi diem unum

populando moratus per Suessanum Allifanumque et Casinatem agrum via Latina ducit. Sub Casino biduo stativa habita et passim populationes factae. Inde praeter Interamnam Aquinumque in Fregellanum agrum ad Lirim fluvium ventum, ubi intercisum pontem a Fregellanis morandi itineris causa invenit. Et Fulvium 4 Vulturum tenuerat amnis navibus ab Hannibale incensis rates ad traiciendum exercitum in magna inopia materiae aegre comparantem. Traiecto ratibus exercitu 5 reliquum Fulvio expeditum iter non per urbes modo sed circa viam expositis benigne commeatibus erat, alacresque milites alius alium, ut adderet gradum memor ad defendendam iri patriam, hortabantur. Romam Fregellanus 6 nuntius diem noctemque itinere continuato ingentem attulit terrorem; tumultuosius, quam quod adlatum erat, concursus hominum adfingentium vana auditis totam urbem concitat. Ploratus mulierum non ex 7 privatis solum domibus exaudiebatur, sed undique matronae in publicum effusae circa deum delubra discurrunt, crinibus passis aras verrentes, nixae genibus, supinas manus ad caelum ac deos tendentes orantes 8 que, ut urbem Romanam e manibus hostium eriperent matresque Romanas et liberos parvos inviolatos servarent. Senatus magistratibus in foro praesto est, si quid consulere velint. Alii accipiunt imperia disceduntque ad suas quisque officiorum partes, alii offerunt se, si quo usus operae sit. Praesidia in arce, in Capitolio, in muris, circa urbem, in monte etiam Albano atque arce Aefulana ponuntur. Inter hunc tumultum Q. Fulvium 10 proconsulem profectum cum exercitu Capua adfertur; cui ne minueretur imperium, si in urbem venisset, decernit senatus, ut Q. Fulvio par cum consulibus imperium esset.

- 11 Hannibal infestius perpopulato agro Fregellano propter
intercisos pontis, per Frusinatem Ferentinatempque et
Anagninum agrum in Labicanum venit. Inde Algido
Tusculum petiit, nec receptus moenibus infra Tusculum
12 dextrorsus Gabios descendit. Inde in Pupiniam exercitu
13 demisso octo milia passuum ab Roma posuit castra. Quo
propius hostis accedebat, eo maior caedes fiebat fugientium
præcedentibus Numidis, pluresque omnium generum
atque ætatum capiebantur.
- 10 10. In hoc tumultu Fulvius Flaccus porta Capena
cum exercitu Romam ingressus media urbe per Carinas
Esquilias contendit; inde egressus inter Esquilinam
2 Collinamque portam posuit castra. Aediles plebis com-
meatum eo comportarunt. Consules senatusque in castra
venerunt. Ibi de summa re publica consultatum. Pla-
cuit consules circa portas Collinam Esquilinamque
ponere castra, C. Calpurnium prætorem urbanum Capi-
tolio atque arci præesse et senatum frequentem in
foro contineri, si quid in tam subitis rebus consulto
3 opus esset. Inter hæc Hannibal ad Anienem fluvium
tria milia passuum ab urbe castra admovit. Ibi sta-
tivis positis ipse cum duobus milibus equitum ad por-
tam Collinam usque ad Herculis templum est progressus
atque, unde proxime poterat, moenia situmque urbis
4 obequitans contemplabatur. Id eum tam licenter atque
otiose facere Flacco indignum visum est; itaque immisit
equites summo verique atque in castra redigi hostium
5 equitatum iussit. Cum commissum proelium esset, con-
sules transfugas Numidarum, qui tum in Aventino ad
mille et ducenti erant, media urbe transire Esquilias
6 iusserunt, nullos aptiores inter convalles tectaque hor-
torum et sepulcra et cavas undique vias ad pugnand-

dum futuros rati. Quos cum ex arce Capitolioque clivo Publicio in equis decurrentis quidam vidissent, captum Aventinum conclamaverunt. Ea res tantum tumultum 7 ac fugam praeiuit, ut, nisi castra Punica extra urbem fuissent, effusura se omnis pavida multitudo fuerit; tunc in domos atque in tecta refugiebant vagosque in viis suos pro hostibus lapidibus telisque incessebant. Nec comprimi tumultus apeririue error poterat re- 8 fertis itineribus agrestium turba pecorumque, quae repentinus pavor in urbem compulerat. Equestre proe- 9 lium secundum fuit, summotique hostes sunt. Et quia multis locis comprimendi tumultus erant, qui temere oriebantur, placuit omnes, qui dictatores, consules censorsve fuissent, cum imperio esse, donec recessisset a muris hostis. Et diei quod reliquum fuit et nocte 10 insequenti multi temere excitati tumultus sunt compressique.

Postero die transgressus Anienem Hannibal in 11 aciem omnis copias eduxit; nec Flaccus consulesque certamen detrectavere. Instructis utrimque exercitibus 2 in eius pugnae casum, in qua urbs Roma victori praemium esset, imber ingens grandine mixtus ita utramque aciem turbavit, ut vix armis retentis in castra sese receperint nullius rei minore quam hostium metu. Et postero die eodem loco acies instructas eadem tem- 3 pestas diremit. Ubi recepissent se in castra, mira serenitas cum tranquillitate oriebatur. In religionem ea 4 res apud Poenos versa est, auditaque vox Hannibalis fertur, potiundae sibi urbis Romae modo mentem non dari, modo fortunam. Minuere etiam spem eius duae 5 aliae, parva magnaue, res: magna illa, quod, cum ipse ad moenia urbis Romae armatus sederet, milites

- sub vexillis in supplementum Hispaniae profectos audit; 6 parva autem, quod per eos dies eum forte agrum, in quo ipse castra haberet, venisse nihil ob id deminuto 7 pretio cognitum ex quodam captivo est. Id vero adeo superbum atque indignum visum, eius soli, quod ipse bello captum possideret haberetque, inventum Romae emptorem, ut extemplo vocato praecone tabernas argentarias, quae circa forum Romanum essent, iusserit venire.
- 8 His motus ad Tutiam fluvium castra rettulit, sex milia passuum ab urbe. Inde ad lucum Feroniae pergit ire, 9 templum ea tempestate inclutum divitiis. Capenates alique, qui accolae eius erant, primitias frugum eo donaque alia pro copia portantes multo auro argentoque id exornatum habebant. Iis omnibus donis tum spoliatum templum. Aeris acervi, cum rudera milites religione inducti iacerent, post protectionem Hannibalis magni 10 inventi. Huius populatio templi haud dubia inter scriptores est. Coelius Romam euntem ab Eretō devertisse eo Hannibalem tradit iterque eius ab Reate Cutiliisque et ab Amiterno orditur; ex Campania in Samnium, 11 inde in Paelignos pervenisse praeterque oppidum Sulmonem in Marrucinos transisse, inde Albensi agro in Marsos, hinc Amiternum Forulosque vicum venisse.
- 12 Neque ibi error est, quod tanti ducis tantique exercitus vestigia intra tam brevis aevi memoriam potuerint confundi — isse enim ea constat —, tantum id interest, 13 veneritne eo itinere ad urbem, an ab urbe in Campaniam redierit.
- 12 Ceterum non quantum Romanis pertinaciae ad pre-mendam obsidione Capuam fuit, tantum ad defendendam Hannibali. Namque per Samnium et Lucanos in Bruttium agrum ad fretum ac Regium eo cursu contendit,

ut prope repentino adventu incautos oppresserit. Capua 3
etsi nihilo segnius obsessa per eos dies fuerat, tamen
adventum Flacci sensit, et admiratio orta est non simul
regressum Hannibalem. Inde per colloquia intellex- 4
erunt relictos se desertosque et spem Capuae retinendae
deploratam apud Poenos esse. Accessit edictum pro- 5
consulis ex senatus consulto propositum vulgatumque
apud hostis, ut qui civis Campanus ante certam diem
transisset, sine fraude esset. Nec ulla facta est transitio
metu magis eos quam fide continente, quia maiora in 6
defectione deliquerant, quam quibus ignosci posset.
Ceterum quem ad modum nemo privato consilio ad hostem 7
transibat, ita nihil salutare in medium consulebatur. 8
Nobilitas rem publicam deseruerant neque in senatum
cogi poterant; in magistratu erat, qui non sibi honorem
adiecisset, sed indignitate sua vim ac ius magistratui,
quem gerebat, dempsisset; iam ne in foro quidem aut 9
publico loco principum quisquam apparebat, domibus
inclusi patriae occasum cum suo exitio in dies exspecta- 10
bant; summa curae omnis in Bostarem Hannonemque,
praefectos praesidii Punici, versa erat, suo, non sociorum
periculo sollicitos. Ii conscriptis ad Hannibalem litteris 11
non libere modo sed etiam asperere, quibus non Capuam
solam traditam in manum hostibus, sed se quoque et
praesidium in omnis cruciatus proditos incusabant: ab- 12
isse eum in Bruttios velut avertentem sese, ne Capua in
oculis eius caperetur; at hercule Romanos ne oppug-
natione quidem urbis Romanae abstrahi a Capua obsi-
denda potuisse: tanto constantiorem inimicum Ro- 13
manum quam amicum Poenum esse. Si redeat Capuam
bellumque omne eo vertat, et se et Campanos paratos
eruptioni fore. Non cum Reginis neque Tarentinis 14

bellum gesturos transisse Alpis; ubi Romanae legiones sint, ibi et Carthaginiensium exercitus debere esse. Sic ad Cannas, sic ad Trasumennum rem bene gestam coeundo conferundoque cum hoste castra, fortunam temp-
15 tando. In hanc sententiam litterae conscriptae Numidis proposita mercede eam professis operam dantur. Ii specie transfugarum cum ad Flaccum in castra venissent, ut inde tempore capto abirent, famesque, quae iam diu Capuae erat, nulli non probabilem causam transitionis
16 faceret, mulier repente Campana in castra venit, scortum transfugarum unius, indicatque imperatori Romano Numidas fraude composita transisse litterasque ad Han-
17 nibalem ferre: id unum ex iis, qui sibi rem aperuisset, arguere sese paratam esse. Productus primo satis constanter ignorare se mulierem simulabat; paulatim dein convictus veris, cum tormenta posci et parari videret, fassus id ita esse, litteraeque prolatae, et additum etiam
18 indicio, quod celabatur, et alios specie transfugarum
19 Numidas vagari in castris Romanis. Ii supra septuaginta comprehensi et cum transfugis novis mulcati virgis manibusque praecisis Capuam rediguntur. Conspectum tam triste supplicium fregit animos Campanorum. Con-
13 cursus ad curiam populi factus coegit Loesium senatum vocare; et primoribus, qui iam diu publicis consiliis aberant, propalam minabantur, nisi venirent in senatum, circa domos eorum ituros se et in publicum omnis vi
2 extracturos esse. Is timor frequentem senatum magistratui praebuit. Ibi cum ceteri de legatis mittendis ad imperatores Romanos agerent, Vibius Virrius, qui defectionis auctor ab Romanis fuerat, interrogatus sententiam
3 negat eos, qui de legatis et de pace ac deditione loquantur, meminisse, nec quid facturi fuerint, si Romanos in po-

testate habuissent, nec quid ipsis patiendum sit. 'Quid? 4
vos' inquit 'eam deditionem fore censetis, qua quondam,
ut adversus Samnites auxilium impetraremus, nos nostra-
que omnia Romanis dedidimus? Iam e memoria ex- 5
cessit, quo tempore et in qua fortuna a populo Romano
defecerimus? Iam, quem ad modum in defectione prae-
sidium, quod poterat emitti, per cruciatum et ad con-
tumeliam necarimus? Quotiens in obsidentis quam 6
inimice eruperimus, castra oppugnarimus. Hannibalem
vocaverimus ad opprimendos eos? Hoc, quod recen-
tissimum est, ad oppugnandam Romam hinc eum mise-
rimus? Age contra, quae illi infeste in nos fecerint, 7
repetite, ut ex eo, quid speretis, habeatis. Cum hostis
alienigena in Italia esset, et Hannibal hostis, et cuncta
bello arderent, omissis omnibus, omisso ipso Hanni-
bale ambo consules et duo consulares exercitus ad Ca- 8
puam oppugnandam miserunt. Alterum annum circum-
vallatos inclusosque nos fame macerant, et ipsi nobiscum
ultima pericula et gravissimos labores perpessi, circa
vallum ac fossas saepe trucidati ac prope ad extremum
castris exuti. Sed omitto haec: vetus atque usitata res 9
est in oppugnanda hostium urbe labores ac pericula pati.
Illud irae atque odii execrabilis inexpressibilisque indicium
est: Hannibal ingentibus copiis peditum equitumque 10
castra oppugnavit et ex parte cepit: tanto periculo nihil
moti sunt ab obsidione; profectus trans Vulturnum
perussit Calenum agrum: nihil tanta sociorum clade 11
avocati sunt; ad ipsam urbem Romam infesta signa ferri
iussit: eam quoque tempestatem imminentem spreverunt;
transgressus Anienem amnem tria milia passum ab urbe
castra posuit, postremo ad moenia ipsa et ad portas
accessit, Romam se adepturum eis, nisi omitterent

- 12 Capuam, ostendit: non omiserunt. Feras bestias, caeco impetu ac rabie concitatas, si ad cubilia et catulos earum ire pergās, ad opem suis ferendam avertas: Romanos
- 13 Roma circumsessā, coniuges, liberi, quorum ploratus hinc prope exaudiebantur, arae, foci, deum delubra, sepulcra maiorum temerata ac violata a Capua non averterunt: tanta aviditas supplicii expetendi, tanta
- 14 sanguinis nostri hauriendi est sitis. Nec iniuria forsitan: nos quoque idem fecissemus, si data fortuna esset. Itaque quoniam aliter dis immortalibus est visum, cum mortem ne recusare quidem debeam, cruciatus contumeliasque, quas parat hostis, dum liber, dum mei potens sum, effugere morte, praeterquam honesta, etiam leni
- 15 possum. Non videbo Ap. Claudium et Q. Fulvium victoria insolenti subnixos, neque vinctus per urbem Romanam triumphī spectaculum trahar, ut deinde in carcere exspirem aut ad palum deligatus lacerato virgis tergo cervicem securi Romānae subiciam; nec dirui incendique patriam videbo, nec rapi ad stuprum matres
- 16 Campanas virginesque et ingenuos pueros. Albam, unde ipsi oriundi erant, a fundamentis proruerunt, ne stirpis, ne memoria originum suarum exstaret: nedum eos Capuae parsuros credam, cui infestiores quam Carthagini
- 17 sunt. Itaque quibus vestrum ante fato cedere, quam haec tot tam acerba videant, in animo est, iis apud me
- 18 hodie epulae instructae parataeque sunt. Satiatis vino ciboque poculum idem, quod mihi datum fuerit, circumferetur: ea potio corpus a cruciatu, animum a contumeliis, oculos, auris a videndis audiendisque omnibus acerbis indignisque, quae manent victos, vindicabit. Parati erunt qui magno rogo in propatulo aedium accenso corpora
- 19 exanima iniciant. Haec una via et honesta et libera ad

mortem. Et ipsi virtutem mirabuntur hostes, et Hannibal fortis socios sciet ab se desertos ac proditos esse.' Hanc orationem Virri plures cum adsensu audierunt, 14 quam forti animo id, quod probabant, exsequi potuerunt: 2 maior pars senatus, multis saepe bellis expertam populi Romani clementiam haud diffidentes sibi quoque placabilem fore, legatos ad dedendam Romanis Capuam decreverunt miseruntque. Vibium Virrium septem et viginti ferme senatores domum secuti sunt epulatique cum eo et, quantum facere potuerant alienatis mentibus vino ab imminenti sensu mali, venenum omnes sumpserunt; inde misso convivio dextris inter se datis ultimoque 4 complexu collacrimantes suum patriaeque casum alii, ut eodem rogo cremarentur, manserunt, alii domos digressi sunt. Impletae cibis vinoque venae minus efficacem in maturanda morte vim veneni fecerunt: itaque noctem totam plerique eorum et diei insequentis partem cum animam egissent, omnes tamen prius, quam aperirentur hostibus portae, expirarunt.

Postero die porta Iovis, quae adversus castra Romana erat, iussu proconsulis aperta est. Ea intromissa legio una et duae alae cum C. Fulvio legato. Is cum 7 omnium primum arma telaque, quae Capuae erant, ad se conferenda curasset, custodiis ad omnes portas dispositis, ne quis exire aut emitti posset, praesidium Punicum comprehendit, senatum Campanum ire in castra ad imperatores Romanos iussit. Quo cum venissent, 8 extemplo iis omnibus catenae iniectae, iussique ad quaestores deferre quod auri atque argenti haberent. Auri pondo duo milia septuaginta fuit, argenti triginta milia pondo et mille ducenta. Senatores quinque et viginti 9 Cales in custodiam, duodetriginta Teanum missi, quorum

de sententia maxime descitum ab Romanis constabat.
15 De supplicio Campani senatus haudquaquam inter
Fulvium Claudiumque conveniebat: facilis impetrandae
veniae Claudius, Fulvio durior sententia erat. Itaque
2 Appius Romam ad senatum arbitrium eius rei totum
3 reiciebat: percunctandi etiam aequum esse potestatem
fieri patribus, num communicassent consilia cum aliquis
sociorum Latini nominis [municipiorum], et num ope
eorum in bello forent adiuti. Id vero minime commit-
4 tendum esse Fulvius dicere, ut sollicitarentur criminibus
dubiis sociorum fidelium animi et subicerentur indicibus,
quis neque quid dicerent neque quid facerent, quicquam
umquam pensi fuisset; itaque se eam quaestionem op-
5 pressurum exstincturumque. Ab hoc sermone cum di-
gressi essent, et Appius quamvis ferociter loquentem
collegam non dubitaret tamen litteras super tanta re ab
6 Roma exspectaturum, Fulvius, ne id ipsum impedimentum
incepto foret, dimittens praetorium tribunis militum ac
praefectis socium imperavit, uti duobus milibus equitum
delectis denuntiarent, ut ad tertiam bucinam praesto
7 essent. Cum hoc equitatu nocte Teanum profectus prima
luce portam intravit atque in forum perrexerit; concursu-
que ad primum equitum ingressum facto magistratum
Sidicinum citari iussit imperavitque, ut produceret Cam-
8 panos, quos in custodia haberet. Producti omnes vir-
gisque caesi ac securi percussi. Inde citato equo Cales
percurrit; ubi cum in tribunali consedisset productique
Campani deligarentur ad palum, eques citus ab Roma
venit litterasque a C. Calpurnio praetore Fulvio et sena-
9 tus consultum tradit. Murmur ab tribunali totam
contionem pervasit, differri rem integram ad patres
de Campanis. Et Fulvius id ita esse ratus acceptas

litteras neque resolutas cum in gremio reposuisset, praeconi imperavit, ut lictorem lege agere iuberet. Ita de iis quoque, qui Calibus erant, sumptum supplicium. Tum litterae lectae senatusque consultum serum ad 10 impediendam rem actam, quae summa ope adproperata erat, ne impediri posset. Consurgentem iam Fulvium 11 Taurea Vibellius Campanus, per mediam vadens turbam, nomine inclamavit et, cum mirabundus, quidnam sese vellet, resedisset Flaccus, ‘me quoque’ inquit 12 ‘iube occidi, ut gloriari possis multo fortiolem, quam ipse es, virum abs te occisum esse.’ Cum Flaccus 13 negaret profecto satis compotem mentis esse, modo prohiberi etiam se, si id vellet, senatus consulto diceret, tum Vibellius ‘quando quidem’ inquit ‘capta 14 patria, propinquis amicisque amissis, cum ipse manu mea coniugem liberosque interfecerim, ne quid indigni paterentur, mihi ne mortis quidem copia eadem est, quae his civibus meis, petatur a virtute invisae huius vitae vindicta.’ Atque ita gladio, quem veste texerat, per 15 adversum pectus transfixus ante pedes imperatoris moribundus procubuit.

LIBER XXVII

40-51

40 Consules diversis itineribus profecti ab urbe velut
in duo pariter bella distenderant curas hominum,
simul recordantium, quas primus adventus Hannibalis
2 intulisset Italiae clades, simul cum illa angeret cura,
quos tam propitios urbi atque imperio fore deos, ut
eodem tempore utrobique res publica prospere gere-
retur? Adhuc adversa secundis pensando rem ad id
3 tempus extractam esse: cum in Italia ad Trasumen-
num et Cannas praecipitasset Romana res, prospera
4 bella in Hispania prolapsam eam erexisse; postea, cum
in Hispania alia super aliam clades duobus egregiis
ducibus amissis duos exercitus ex parte delessent, multa
secunda in Italia Siciliaque gesta quassatam rem pub-
5 licam exceperunt; et ipsum intervallum loci, quod in
ultimis terrarum oris alterum bellum gereretur, spatium
6 dedisse ad respirandum: nunc duo bella in Italiam
accepta, duo celeberrimi nominis duces circumstare
urbem Romanam, et unum in locum totam periculi
molem, omne onus incubuisse. Qui eorum prior vicisset,
intra paucos dies castra cum altero iuncturum. Terrebat
7 et proximus annus lugubris duorum consulum funeribus.
His anxii curis homines digredientes in provincias consules
8 prosecuti sunt. Memoriae proditum est plenum adhuc
irae in civis M. Livium ad bellum proficiscentem monenti

Q. Fabio, ne, priusquam genus hostium cognosset, temere manum consereret, respondisse, ubi primum hostium agmen conspexisset, pugnaturum. Cum quaereretur, quae 9 causa festinandi esset, 'aut ex hoste egregiam gloriam' inquit 'aut ex civibus victis gaudium meritum certe, etsi non honestum, capiam.'

Priusquam Claudius consul in provinciam perveniret, 10 per extremum finem agri Larinatis ducentem in Sallentinos exercitum Hannibalem expeditis cohortibus adortus C. Hostilius Tubulus incomposito agmini terribilem tumultum intulit; ad quattuor milia hominum 11 occidit, novem signa militaria cepit. Moverat ex hibernis ad famam hostis Q. Claudius, qui per urbes agri Sallentini castra disposita habebat. Itaque ne cum duobus exer- 12 citibus simul confligeret, Hannibal nocte castra ex agro Tarentino movit atque in Bruttios concessit. Claudius 13 in Sallentinos agmen convertit, Hostilius Capuam petens obvius ad Venusiam fuit consuli Claudio. Ibi ex utroque 14 exercitu electa peditum quadraginta milia, duo milia et quingenti equites, quibus consul adversus Hannibalem rem gereret: reliquas copias Hostilius Capuam ducere iussus, ut Q. Fulvio proconsuli traderet.

Hannibal undique contracto exercitu, quem in hi- 41 bernis aut in praesidiis agri Bruttii habuerat, in Lucanos ad Grumentum venit spe recipiendi oppida, quae per metum ad Romanos defecissent. Eodem a Venusia consul 2 Romanus exploratis itineribus contendit, et mille fere et quingentos passus castra ab hoste locat. Grumenti 3 moenibus prope iniunctum videbatur Poenorum vallum; quingenti passus intererant. Castra Punica ac Romana 4 interiacebat campus; colles imminebant nudi sinistro lateri Carthaginiensium, dextro Romanorum, neutris sus-

pecti, quod nihil silvae neque ad insidias latebrarum
5 habebant. In medio campo ab stationibus procursantes
certamina haud satis digna dictu serebant. Id modo
Romanum quaerere apparebat, ne abire hostem pateretur:
Hannibal inde evadere cupiens totis viribus in aciem
6 descendebat. Tum consul ingenio hostis usus, quo minus
in tam apertis collibus timeri insidiae poterant, quinque
cohortes additis quinque manipulis nocte iugum superare
7 et in aversis vallibus considerare iubet. Tempus exsur-
gendi ex insidiis et adgrediendi hostem Ti. Claudium
Asellum tribunum militum et P. Claudium praefectum
8 socium edocet, quos cum iis mittebat. Ipse luce prima
copias omnes peditum equitumque in aciem eduxit.
Paulo post et ab Hannibale signum pugnae propositum
est, clamorque in castris ad arma discurrentium est sub-
latus. Inde eques pedesque certatim portis ruere ac
9 palatii per campum properare ad hostes. Quos ubi
effusos consul videt, tribuno militum tertiae legionis
C. Aurunculeio imperat, ut equites legionis quanto
10 maximo impetu possit in hostem emittat: ita pecorum
modo incompositos toto passim campo se fudisse, ut sterni
obterique, priusquam instruantur, possint. Nondum
42 Hannibal e castris exierat, cum pugnantium clamorem
audivit. Itaque excitus tumultu raptim ad hostem copias
2 agit. Iam primos occupaverat equester terror; peditum
etiam prima legio et dextra ala proelium inibat; incom-
positi hostes, ut quemque aut pediti aut equiti casus
3 obtulit, ita conserunt manus. Crescit pugna subsidiis et
procurrentium ad certamen numero augetur; pugnantis-
que, quod nisi in vetere exercitu et duci veteri haud facile
4 est, inter tumultum ac terrorem instruxisset Hannibal, ni
cohortium ac manipulorum decurrentium per colles clamor

ab tergo auditus metum, ne intercluderentur a castris, iniecisset. Inde pavor incussus et fuga passim fieri coepta 5 est. Minorque caedes fuit, quia propinquitas castrorum brevior fugam percussis fecit. Equites enim tergo inhaerebant; in transversa latera invaserant cohortes 6 secundis collibus via nuda ac facili decurrentes. Tamen 7 supra octo milia hominum occisa, supra septingentos capti; signa militaria novem adempta; elephantum etiam, quorum nullus usus in repentina ac tumultuaria pugna fuerat, quattuor occisi, duo capti. Circa quingentos Romanorum 8 sociorumque victores ceciderunt. Postero die Poenus quievit; Romanus in aciem copiis eductis postquam neminem signa contra efferre vidit, spolia legi caesorum hostium et suorum corpora collata in unum sepeliri iussit. Inde insequentibus continuis diebus aliquot ita 9 institit portis, ut prope inferre signa videretur, donec Hannibal tertia vigilia crebris ignibus tabernaculisque, quae pars castrorum ad hostes vergebat, et Numidis paucis, qui in vallo portisque se ostenderent, relictis profectus Apuliam petere intendit. Ubi illuxit, successit vallo 11 Romana acies, et Numidae ex composito paulisper in portis se valloque ostentare frustratique aliquamdiu hostes citatis equis agmen suorum adsequuntur. Consul 12 ubi silentium in castris et ne paucos quidem, qui prima luce obambulaverant, parte ulla cernebat, duobus equibus speculatum in castra praemissis postquam satis tuta omnia esse exploratum est, inferri signa iussit; tantumque 13 ibi moratus, dum milites ad praedam discurrunt, receptui deinde cecinit multoque ante noctem copias reduxit. 14 Postero die luce prima profectus, magnis itineribus famam et vestigia agminis sequens haud procul Venusia hostem adsequitur. Ibi quoque tumultuaria pugna fuit; 15

- supra duo milia Poenorum caesa. Inde nocturnis montanisque itineribus Poenus, ne locum pugnandi daret,
- 16 Metapontum petiit. Hanno inde — is enim praesidio eius loci praefuerat — in Bruttios cum paucis ad exercitum novum comparandum missus; Hannibal copiis eius ad suas additis Venusiam retro quibus venerat itineribus repetit, atque inde Canusium procedit. Num-
- 17 quam Nero vestigiis hostis abstiterat et Q. Fulvium, cum Metapontum ipse proficisceretur, in Lucanos, ne regio ea sine praesidio esset, arcessierat.
- 43 Inter haec ab Hasdrubale, postquam a Placentiae obsidione abcessit, quattuor Galli equites, duo Numidae cum litteris missi ad Hannibalem cum per medios hostes totam ferme longitudinem Italiae emensi essent, dum
- 2 Metapontum cedentem Hannibalem sequuntur, incertis itineribus Tarentum delati a vagis per agros pabulatoribus Romanis ad Q. Claudium propraetorem deducuntur.
- 3 Eum primo incertis implicantibus responsis, ut metus tormentorum admotus fateri vera coegit, edocuerunt litteras
- 4 se ab Hasdrubale ad Hannibalem ferre. Cum iis litteris sicut erant signatis L. Verginio tribuno militum ducendi
- 5 ad Claudium consulem traduntur. Duae simul turmae Samnitium praesidii causa missae. Qui ubi ad consulem pervenerunt, litteraeque lectae per interpretem sunt, et
- 6 ex captivis percunctatio facta, tum Claudius non id tempus esse rei publicae ratus, quo consiliis ordinariis provinciae suae quisque finibus per exercitus suos cum
- 7 hoste destinato ab senatu bellum gereret; audendum ac novandum aliquid improvisum, inopinatum, quod coeptum non minorem apud cives quam hostes terrorem faceret, perpetratum in magnam laetitiam ex magno metu ver-
- 8 teret, litteris Hasdrubalis Romam ad senatum missis

simul et ipse patres conscriptos, quid pararet, edocet: ut, cum in Umbria se occursum Hasdrubal fratri scribat, legionem a Capua Romam arcessant, dilectum 9 Romae habeant, exercitum urbanum ad Narniam hosti opponant. Haec senatui scripta. Praemissi item per 10 agrum Larinatem Marrucinum Frentanum Praetutianum, qua exercitum ducturus erat, ut omnes ex agris urbibusque commeatus paratos militi ad vescendum in viam deferrent, equos iumentaue alia producerent, ut vehiculorum fessis copia esset. Ipse de toto exercitu civium sociorumque quod roboris erat delegit, sex milia peditum, 11 mille equites; pronuntiat occupare se in Lucanis proximam urbem Punicumque in ea praesidium velle: ut ad iter parati omnes essent. Profectus nocte flexit in 12 Picenum.

Et consul quidem quantis maximis itineribus poterat 44 ad collegam ducebat relicto Q. Catio legato, qui castris praeesset. Romae haud minus terroris ac tumultus erat, quam fuerat biennio ante, cum castra Punica obiecta Romanis moenibus portisque fuerant.. Neque satis constabat animis, tam audax iter consulis laudarent vituperarentne; apparebat, quo nihil iniquius est, ex eventu famam habiturum: castra prope Hannibalem hostem 2 relicta sine duce, cum exercitu, cui detractum foret omne quod roboris, quod floris fuerit, et consulem in Lucanos ostendisse iter, cum Picenum et Galliam peteret, castra 3 relinquentem nulla alia re tutiora quam errore hostis, qui ducem inde atque exercitus partem abesse ignoraret. 4 Quid futurum, si id palam fiat, et aut insequi Neronem cum sex milibus armatorum profectum Hannibal toto exercitu velit aut castra invadere praedae relicta sine viribus, sine imperio, sine auspicio? Veteres eius belli 5

clades, duo consules proximo anno interfecti terrebant;
et ea omnia accidisse, cum unus imperator, unus exercitus
hostium in Italia esset; nunc duo bella Punica facta,
duos ingentes exercitus, duos prope Hannibales in Italia
6 esse. Quippe et Hasdrubalem patre eodem Hamil-
care genitum, aequae impigrum ducem, per tot annos
in Hispania Romano exercitatum bello, gemina victoria
insignem duobus exercitibus cum clarissimis ducibus
7 deletis. Nam itineris quidem celeritate ex Hispania et
concitatis ad arma Gallicis gentibus multo magis quam
8 Hannibalem ipsum gloriari posse: quippe in iis locis hunc
coegisse exercitum, quibus ille maiorem partem militum
fame ac frigore, quae miserrima mortis genera sint, amis-
9 set. Adiciebant etiam periti rerum Hispaniae, haud cum
ignoto eum duce C. Nerone congressurum, sed quem in
saltu impedito depensus forte haud secus quam puerum
conscribendis fallacibus condicionibus pacis frustratus
10 elusisset. Omnia maiora etiam vero praesidia hostium,
minora sua, metu interprete semper in deteriora inclinato,
ducebant.

45 Nero postquam iam tantum intervalli ab hoste
fecerat, ut detegi consilium satis tutum esset, paucis
2 milites adloquitur. Negat ullius consilium imperatoris
in speciem audacius, re ipsa tutius fuisse quam suum.
3 Ad certam eos se victoriam ducere: quippe ad quod
bellum collega non ante, quam ad satietatem ipsius
peditum atque equitum datae ab senatu copiae fuissent
maiores instructioresque, quam si adversus ipsum Han-
nibalem iret, profectus sit, eo ipsi si quantumcumque
virium momentum addiderint, rem omnem inclinatu-
4 ritum. Auditum modo in acie — nam ne ante audiatur, daturum
operam — alterum consulem et alterum exercitum ad-

venisse haud dubiam victoriam facturum. Famam bel- 5
lum conficere, et parva momenta in spem metumque
impellere animos; gloriae quidem ex re bene gesta partae
fructum prope omnem ipsos laturos; semper quod po- 6
stremum adiectum sit, id rem totam videri traxisse.
Cernere ipsos, quo concursu, qua admiratione, quo favore
hominum iter suum celebretur. Et hercule per instructa 7
omnia ordinibus virorum mulierumque undique ex agris
effusorum, inter vota ac preces et laudes ibant: illos
praesidia rei publicae, vindices urbis Romanae imperiique
appellabant; in illorum armis dextrisque suam liberorum-
que suorum salutem ac libertatem repositam esse. Deos 8
omnes deasque precabantur, ut illis faustum iter, felix
pugna, matura ex hostibus victoria esset, damnarenturque
ipsi votorum, quae pro iis suscepissent, ut, quem ad 9
modum nunc solliciti prosequerentur eos, ita paucos post
dies laeti ovantibus victoria obviam irent. Invitare inde 10
pro se quisque et offerre et fatigare precibus, ut, quae
ipsis iumentisque usui essent, ab se potissimum sumerent;
benigne omnia cumulata dare. Modestia certare milites, 11
ne quid ultra usum necessarium sumerent; nihil morari,
nec ab signis abire nec subsistere cibum capientes; diem
ac noctem ire; vix quod satis ad naturale desiderium cor-
porum esset, quieti dare. Et ad collegam praemissi erant, 12
qui nuntiarent adventum percunctarenturque, clam an
palam, interdiu an noctu venire sese vellet, isdem an aliis
considerare castris. Nocte clam ingredi melius visum est. .

Tessera per castra ab Livio consule data erat, ut 46
tribunus tribunum, centurio centurionem, eques equitem,
pedes peditem acciperet: neque enim dilatari castra opus 2
esse, ne hostis adventum alterius consulis sentiret; et coar-
tatio plurium in angusto tendentium faciliior futura erat,

quod Claudianus exercitus nihil ferme praeter arma secum
3 in expeditionem tulerat. Ceterum in ipso itinere auctum
voluntariis agmen erat, offerentibus ultro sese et veteribus
militibus perfunctis iam militia et iuvenibus, quos certatim
nomina dantes, si quorum corporis species roburque
4 virium aptum militiae videbatur, conscripserat. Ad
Senam castra alterius consulis erant, et quingentos ferme
inde passus Hasdrubal aberat. Itaque cum iam ad-
propinquaret, tectus montibus substitit Nero, ne ante
5 noctem castra ingrederetur. Silentio ingressi, ab sui
quisque ordinis hominibus in tentoria abducti, cum
summa omnium laetitia hospitaliter excipiuntur. Pos-
tero die consilium habitum, cui et L. Porcius Licinus
6 praetor adfuit. Castra iuncta consulum castris habebat,
et ante adventum eorum per loca alta ducendo exercitum,
cum modo insideret angustos saltus, ut transitum clau-
deret, modo ab latere aut ab tergo carperet agmen, ludi-
ficatus hostem omnibus artibus belli fuerat; is tum
7 in consilio aderat. Multorum eo inclinabant sententiae,
ut, dum fessum via ac vigiliis reficeret militem Nero,
simul et ad noscendum hostem paucos sibi sumeret dies,
8 tempus pugnae differretur; Nero non suadere modo, sed
summa ope orare institit, ne consilium suum, quod tutum
9 celeritas fecisset, temerarium morando facerent: errore,
qui non diuturnus futurus esset, velut torpentem Hanni-
balem nec castra sua sine duce relicta adgredi nec ad
sequendum se iter intendisse. Antequam se moveat,
deleri exercitum Hasdrubalis posse redirique in Apuliam.
10 Qui prolatando spatium hosti det, eum et illa castra pro-
dere Hannibali et aperire in Galliam iter, ut per otium,
11 ubi velit, Hasdrubali coniungatur. Extemplo signum
dandum et exeundum in aciem abutendumque errore

hostium absentium praesentiumque, dum neque illi sciant cum paucioribus nec hi cum pluribus et validioribus rem esse. Consilio dimisso signum pugnae proponitur, 12 confestimque in aciem procedunt.

Iam hostes ante castra instructi stabant. Moram 47 pugnae attulit, quod Hasdrubal, proventus ante signa cum paucis equitibus, scuta vetera hostium notavit, quae ante non viderat, et strigosiores equos; multitudo quoque maior solita visa est. Suspiciatus enim id, quod erat, 2 receptui propere cecinit ac misit ad flumen, unde aquabantur, ubi et excipi aliqui possent et notari oculis, si qui forte adustioris coloris ut ex recenti via essent; simul 3 circumvehi procul castra iubet specularique, num auctum aliqua parte sit vallum, et ut attendant, semel bisne signum canat in castris. Ea cum ordine omnia relata 4 essent, castra nihil aucta errorem faciebant: bina erant, sicut ante adventum consulis alterius fuerant, una M. Livi, altera L. Porci, neutris quicquam, quo latius tenderetur, ad munimenta adiectum. Illud veterem ducem 5 adsuetumque Romano hosti movit, quod semel in praetoriis castris signum, bis in consularibus referebant cecinisse. Duos profecto consules esse, et quonam modo alter ab Hannibale abscessisset, cura angebat. Minime 6 id, quod erat, suspicari poterat, tantae rei frustratione Hannibalem elusum, ut, ubi dux, ubi exercitus esset, cum quo castra collata haberet, ignoraret; profecto 7 haud mediocri clade absterritum insequi non ausum; magno opere vereri, ne perditis rebus serum ipse auxilium venisset Romanisque eadem iam fortuna in Italia quae in Hispania esset. Interdum litteras suas ad eum 8 non pervenisse credere, interceptisque iis consulem ad sese opprimendum accelerasse. His anxius curis extinctis

ignibus vigilia prima dato signo, ut taciti vasa colligerent,
9 signa ferri iussit. In trepidatione et nocturno tumultu
duces parum intente adservati, alter in destinatis iam ante
animo latebris subsedit, alter per vada nota Metaurum
flumen tranavit. Ita desertum ab ducibus agmēn primo
per agros palatur, fessique aliquot itinere ac vigiliis
sternunt somno corpora passim atque infrequentia re-
10 linquunt signa. Hasdrubal, dum lux viam ostenderet,
ripa fluminis signa ferri iubet, et per tortuosi amnis sinus
flexusque cum iter errore revolvens haud multum proces-
sisset, ubi prima lux transitum opportunum ostendisset,
11 transiturus erat. Sed cum quantum a mari abscedebat,
tanto altioribus coercentibus amnem ripis non inveniret
vada, diem terendo spatium dedit ad insequendum sese
hosti.

48 Nero primum cum omni equitatu advenit, Porcius
2 deinde adsecutus cum levi armatura. Qui cum fessum
agmen carperent ab omni parte incursarentque, et iam
omisso itinere, quod fugae simile erat, castra metari
3 Poenus in tumulto super fluminis ripam vellet, advenit
Livius peditum omnibus copiis non itineris modo, sed ad
conserendum extemplo proelium instructis armatisque.
4 Sed ubi omnes copias coniunxerunt, directaque acies est,
Claudius dextro in cornu, Livius ab sinistro pugnam
5 instruit, media acies praetori tuenda data. Hasdrubal
omissa munitione castrorum postquam pugnandum vidit,
in prima acie ante signa elephantos locat, circa eos laevo
in cornu adversus Claudium Gallos opponit, haud tantum
6 iis fidens, quantum ab hoste timeri eos credebatur; ipse
dextrum cornu adversus M. Livium sibi atque Hispanis
— et ibi maxime in vetere milite spem habebat — sump-
7 sit; Ligures in medio post elephantos positi. Sed longior

quam latior acies erat; Gallos prominens collis tegebat. Ea frons, quam Hispani tenebant, cum sinistro Romanorum 8 cornu concurrit; dextra omnis acies extra proelium eminens cessabat; collis oppositus arcebat, ne aut a fronte aut ab latere adgrederentur. Inter Livium Hasdrubalem- 9 que ingens contractum certamen erat, atroxque caedes utrimque edebatur. Ibi duces ambo, ibi pars maior 10 peditum equitumque Romanorum, ibi Hispani, vetus miles peritusque Romanae pugnae, et Ligures, durum in armis genus. Eodem versi elephantī, qui primo impetu turbaverant antesignanos et iam signa moverant loco; 11 deinde crescente certamine et clamore impotentius iam regi et inter duas acies versari, velut incerti, quorum essent, haud dissimiliter navibus sine gubernaculo vagis. Claudius 'quid ergo praecipiti cursu tam longum iter 12 emensi sumus?' clamitans militibus, cum in adversum collem frustra signa erigere conatus esset, postquam ea regione penetrari ad hostem non videbat posse, cohortes 13 aliquot subductas e dextro cornu, ubi stationem magis segnem quam pugnam futuram cernebat, post aciem 14 circumducit et non hostibus modo sed etiam suis inopinantibus in dextrum hostium latus incurrit; tantaque celeritas fuit, ut, cum ostendissent se ab latere, mox in terga iam pugnarent. Ita ex omnibus parti- 15 bus, ab fronte, ab latere, ab tergo, trucidantur Hispani Liguresque, et ad Gallos iam caedes pervenerat. Ibi minimum certaminis fuit: nam et pars magna ab 16 signis aberant, nocte dilapsi stratique somno passim per agros, et qui aderant, itinere ac vigiliis fessi, intolerantissima laboris corpora, vix arma umeris gestabant; et iam diei medium erat, sitisque et calor hiantes 17 caedendos capiendosque adfatim praebebat. Elephantī 49

plures ab ipsis rectoribus quam ab hoste interfecti. Fabrilis scalprum cum malleo habebant; id, ubi saevire beluae ac ruere in suos coeperant, magister inter aures positum, ipso in articulo, quo iungitur capiti
2 cervix, quanto maximo poterat ictu adigebat. Ea celerima via mortis in tantae molis belua inventa erat, ubi regentis imperium sprevisset, primusque id Hasdrubal instituerat, dux cum saepe alias memorabilis, tum illa
3 praecipue pugna. Ille pugnantes hortando pariterque obeundo pericula sustinuit, ille fessos abnuentesque taedio et labore nunc precando nunc castigando accendit; ille fugientes revocavit omissamque pugnam aliquot locis
4 restituit; postremo, cum haud dubie fortuna hostium esset, ne superstes tanto exercitui suum nomen secuto esset, concitato equo se in cohortem Romanam immisit. Ibi, ut patre Hamilcare et Hannibale fratre dignum erat, pugnans cecidit.

5 Numquam eo bello una acie tantum hostium interfectum est, redditaque aequa Cannensi clades vel ducis
6 vel exercitus interitu videbatur. Quinquaginta sex milia hostium occisa, capta quinque milia et quadringenti; magna praeda alia cum omnis generis, tum auri etiam
7 argenteae. Civium etiam Romanorum, qui capti apud hostes erant, supra quattuor milia capitum recepta. Id solacii fuit pro amissis eo proelio militibus. Nam haud-
8 quamquam incruenta victoria fuit: octo ferme milia Romanorum sociorumque occisa; adeoque etiam victores sanguinis caedisque ceperat satietas, ut postero die, cum esset nuntiatum Livio consuli Gallos Cisalpinos Liguresque, qui aut proelio non adfuissent aut inter caedem effugissent, uno agmine abire sine certo duce, sine signis, sine ordine ullo aut imperio; si una equitum ala mittatur,

posse omnes deleri: 'supersint' inquit 'aliqui nuntii et 9
hostium cladis et nostrae virtutis.'

Nero ea nocte, quae secuta est pugnam, pro-50
fectus citatiore quam inde venerat agmine die sexto
ad stativa sua atque ad hostem pervenit. Iter eius 2
frequentia minore, quia nemo praecesserat nuntius,
laetitia vero tanta, vix ut compotes mentium prae gaudio
essent, celebratum est. Nam Romae neuter animi habi- 3
tus satis dici enarrarique potest, nec quo incerta exspec-
tatione eventus civitas fuerat, nec quo victoriae famam
accepit. Numquam per omnis dies, ex quo Claudium 4
consulem profectum fama attulit, ab orto sole ad occiden-
tem aut senator quisquam a curia atque ab magistratibus
abcessit aut populus e foro. Matronae, quia nihil in ipsis 5
opis erat, in preces obtestationesque versae, per omnia
delubra vagae suppliciis votisque fatigare deos. Tam 6
sollicitae ac suspensae civitati fama incerta primo accidit
duos Narnienses equites in castra, quae in faucibus
Umbriae opposita erant, venisse ex proelio nuntiantes
caesos hostes. Et primo magis auribus quam animis id 7
acceptum erat ut maius laetiusque, quam quod mente
capere aut satis credere possent, et ipsa celeritas
fidem impendebat, quod biduo ante pugnatum dicebatur.
Litterae deinde ab L. Manlio Acidino missae ex castris 8
adferuntur de Narniensium equitum adventu. Hae lit- 9
terae per forum ad tribunal praetoris latae senatum
curia exciverunt; tantoque certamine ac tumultu populi
ad fores curiae concursus est, ut adire nuntius non
posset, sed traheretur a percunctantibus vociferantibus-
que, ut in rostris prius quam in senatu litterae reci-
tarentur. Tandem summoti et coerciti a magistratibus, 10
dispensarique laetitia inter impotentes eius animos potuit.

- 11 In senatu primum, deinde in contione litterae recitatae sunt; et pro cuiusque ingenio aliis iam certum gaudium, aliis nulla ante futura fides erat, quam legatos consulumve
51 litteras audissent. Ipsos deinde appropinquare legatos adlatum est. Tunc enim vero omnis aetas currere obvii, primus quisque oculis auribusque haurire tantum
2 gaudium cupientes. Ad Mulvium usque pontem continens
3 agmen pervenit. Legati — ii erant L. Veturius Philo P. Licinius Varus Q. Caecilius Metellus — circumfusi omnis generis hominum frequentia in forum pervenerunt, cum alii ipsos, alii comites eorum, quae acta essent, per
4 cunctarentur. Et ut quisque audierat exercitum hostium imperatoremque occisum, legiones Romanas incolumes, salvos consules esse, extemplo aliis porro impertiebant
5 gaudium suum. Cum aegre in curiam perventum esset, multo aegrius summoti turba, ne patribus misceretur, litterae in senatu recitatae sunt. Inde traducti in
6 contionem legati. L. Veturius litteris recitatis ipse planius omnia, quae acta erant, exposuit cum ingenti adsensu, postremo etiam clamore universae contionis, cum vix gaudium
7 animis caperent. Discursum inde ab aliis circa templa deum, ut grates agerent, ab aliis domos, ut coniugibus
8 liberisque tam laetum nuntium impertirent. Senatus, quod M. Livius et C. Claudius consules incolumi exercitu ducem hostium legionesque occidissent, supplicationem in triduum decrevit. Eam supplicationem C. Hostilius praetor pro contione edixit, celebrataque a viris feminis-
9 que est; omniaque templa per totum triduum aequalem turbam habuere, cum matronae amplissima veste cum liberis, perinde ac si debellatum foret, omni solutae metu
10 deis immortalibus grates agerent. Statum quoque civitatis ea victoria movit, ut iam inde haud secus quam in

pace res inter se contrahere vendendo, emendo, mutuum dando argentum creditumque solvendo auderent.

C. Claudius consul cum in castra redisset, caput Has- 11
drubalis, quod servatum cum cura attulerat, proici ante
hostium stationes captivosque Afros vinctos, ut erant,
ostendi, duos etiam ex iis solutos ire ad Hannibalem et
expromere, quae acta essent, iussit. Hannibal, tanto 12
simul publico familiarique ictus luctu, agnoscere se
fortunam Carthaginis fertur dixisse; castrisque inde 13
motis, ut omnia auxilia, quae diffusa latius tueri non
poterat, in extremum Italiae angulum Bruttios contra-
heret, et Metapontinos, civitatem universam, excitos
sedibus suis, et Lucanorum qui suae dicionis erant in
Bruttium agrum traduxit.

LIBER XXX

29-38

29 Iam Hadrumentum pervenerat Hannibal, unde, ad reficiendum ex iactatione maritima militem paucis diebus sumptis, excitus pavidis nuntiis omnia circa Carthaginem obtineri armis adferentium, magnis itineribus Zamam
2 contendit. Zama quinque dierum iter ab Carthagine abest. Inde praemissi speculatores cum excepti ab custodibus Romanis deducti ad Scipionem essent, traditos eos tribuno militum iussosque omisso metu visere omnia
3 per castra, qua vellent, circumduci iussit; percunctatusque, satin' per commodum omnia explorassent, datis, qui
4 prosequerentur, retro ad Hannibalem dimisit. Hannibal nihil quidem eorum, quae nuntiabantur — nam et Masinissam cum sex milibus peditum, quattuor equitum venisse eo ipso forte die adferebant —, laeto animo audivit, maxime hostis fiducia audaciaque, non de nihilo profecto
5 concepta, percussus est. Itaque quamquam et ipse causa belli erat et adventu suo turbaverat et pactas indutias et spem foederum, tamen, si integer quam si victus peteret pacem, aequiora impetrari posse ratus, nuntium ad Scipionem misit, ut colloquendi secum potestatem faceret. Id utrum sua sponte fecerit an publico
6 consilio, neutrum cur adfirmem habeo. Valerius Antias primo proelio victum eum ab Scipione, quo duodecim milia armatorum in acie sint caesa, mille et septingenti

capti, legatum cum aliis decem legatis tradit in castra ad Scipionem venisse. Ceterum Scipio cum colloquium haud 8 abnuisset, ambo ex composito duces castra protulerunt, ut coire ex propinquo possent. Scipio haud procul Narag- 9 gara urbe, cum ad cetera loco opportuno tum quod aquatio intra teli coniectum erat, consedit. Hannibal 10 tumulum a quattuor milibus inde, tutum commodumque alioqui, nisi quod longinquae aquationis erat, cepit. Ibi in medio locus conspectus undique, ne quid insidiarum esset, delectus.

Summotis pari spatio armatis cum singulis inter-30 pretibus congressi sunt, non suae modo aetatis maximi duces, sed omnis ante se memoriae, omnium gentium cuilibet regum imperatorumve pares. Paulisper alter 2 alterius conspectu, admiratione mutua prope attoniti, conticuere. // Tum Hannibal prior: 'si hoc ita fato datum 3 erat, ut qui primus bellum intuli populo Romano quique totiens prope in manibus victoriam habui, is ultro ad pacem petendam venirem, laetor te mihi sorte potissimum datum, a quo peterem. Tibi quoque inter multa 4 egregia non in ultimis laudum hoc fuerit, Hannibalem, cui tot de Romanis ducibus victoriam di dedissent, tibi cessisse, teque huic bello, vestris prius quam nostris cladibus insigni, finem imposuisse. Hoc quoque ludi- 5 brium casus ediderit fortuna, ut, cum patre tuo consule ceperim arma, cum eodem primum Romano imperatore signa contulerim, ad filium eius inermis ad pacem petendam veniam. Optimum quidem fuerat eam patribus 6 nostris mentem datam ab dis esse, ut et vos Italiae et nos Africae imperio contenti essemus; neque enim ne vobis 7 quidem Sicilia ac Sardinia satis digna pretia sunt pro tot classibus, tot exercitibus, tot tam egregiis amissis

- ducibus. Sed praeterita magis reprehendi possunt quam
8 corrigi. // Ita aliena appetivimus, ut de nostris dimi-
caremus, nec in Italia solum nobis bellum, vobis in Africa
esset, sed et vos in portis vestris prope ac moenibus signa
armaque hostium vidistis et nos ab Carthagine fremitum
9 castrorum Romanorum exaudimus. Quod igitur nos
maxime abominaremur, vos ante omnia optaretis, in
meliore vestra fortuna de pace agitur. Agimus ei, quo-
rum et maxime interest pacem esse, et qui quodcumque
egerimus, ratum civitates nostrae habiturae sunt. Animo
tantum nobis opus est non abhorrente a quietis consiliis.
10 Quod ad me attinet, iam aetas senem in patriam rever-
tentem, unde puer profectus sum, iam secundae, iam
adversae res ita erudierunt, ut rationem sequi quam
11 fortunam malim; tuam et adulescentiam et perpetuam
felicitatem, ferociora utraque quam quietis opus est
consiliis, metuo. Non temere incerta casuum reputat,
12 quem fortuna numquam decepit. Quod ego fui ad
Trasumennum, ad Cannas, id tu hodie es. Vixdum
militari aetate imperio accepto omnia audacissime in-
13 cipientem nusquam fefellit fortuna. Patris et patrui
persecutus mortem ex calamitate vestrae domus decus
insigne virtutis pietatisque eximiae cepisti; amissas
Hispanias reciperasti quattuor inde Punicis exercitibus
14 pulsus; consul creatus, cum ceteris ad tutandam Italiam
parum animi esset, transgressus in Africam, duobus hic
exercitibus caesis, binis eadem hora captis simul incensis-
que castris, Syphace potentissimo rege capto, tot urbibus
regni eius, tot nostri imperii ereptis, me sextum decimum
iam annum haerentem in possessione Italiae detraxisti.
Potest victoriam malle quam pacem animus. Novi
15 spiritus magnos magis quam utiles; et mihi talis ali-

quando fortuna adfuit. Quodsi in secundis rebus 16
bonam quoque mentem darent dei, non ea solum, quae
evenissent, sed etiam ea, quae evenire possent, reputare-
mus. Ut omnium obliviscaris aliorum, satis ego docu-
menti in omnes casus sum, quem, modo castris inter 17
Anienem atque urbem vestram positis signa inferentem
ac iam prope scandentem moenia Romana, hic cernas
duobus fratribus, fortissimis viris, clarissimis imperatori-
bus orbatum ante moenia prope obsessae patriae, quibus
terrui vestram urbem, ea pro mea deprecantem. Maximae 18
cuique fortunae minime credendum est. In bonis tuis
rebus, nostris dubiis, tibi ampla ac speciosa danti est pax,
nobis petentibus magis necessaria quam honesta. Melior 19
tutiorque est certa pax quam sperata victoria; haec in
tua, illa in deorum manu est. Ne tot annorum felicitatem
in unius horae dederis discrimen; cum tuas vires, tum 20
vim fortunae Martemque belli communem propone animo.
Utrumque ferrum, utrimque corpora humana erunt;
nusquam minus quam in bello eventus respondent.
Non tantum ad id, quod data pace iam habere potes, si 21
proelio vincas, gloriae adieceris, quantum dempseris, si
quid adversi eveniat. Simul parta ac sperata decora
unius horae fortuna evertere potest. Omnia in pace 22
iungenda tuae potestatis sunt, P. Corneli; tunc ea ha-
benda fortuna erit, quam di dederint. Inter pauca 23
felicitatis virtutisque exempla M. Atilius quondam in
hac eadem terra fuisset, si victor pacem petentibus
dedisset patribus nostris; sed non statuendo felicitati
modum nec cohibendo efferentem se fortunam, quanto
altius elatus erat, eo foedius corrui. Est quidem eius, 24
qui dat, non qui petit, condiciones dicere pacis; sed
forsitan non indigni simus, qui nobismet ipsi multam

- 25 irrogemus. Non recusamus, quin omnia, propter quae
ad bellum itum est, vestra sint, Sicilia, Sardinia, His-
pania, quidquid insularum toto inter Africam Italiam-
26 que continetur mari. Carthaginienses inclusi Africae
litoribus vos, quando ita dis placuit, externa etiam
27 terra marique videamus regentes imperio. Haud nega-
verim propter non nimis sincere petitam aut exspecta-
tam nuper pacem suspectam esse vobis Punicam fidem.
Multum, per quos petita sit, ad fidem tuendae pacis
28 pertinet, Scipio. Vestri quoque, ut audio, patres non
nihil etiam ob hoc, quia parum dignitatis in legatione
29 erat, negaverunt pacem: Hannibal peto pacem, qui
neque peterem, nisi utilem crederem, et propter ean-
30 dem utilitatem tuebor eam, propter quam petii. Et quem
ad modum, quia a me bellum coeptum est, ne quem
eius paeniteret, quoad ipsi invidere dei, praestiti, ita
adnitar, ne quem pacis per me partae paeniteat.'
- 31 Adversus haec imperator Romanus in hanc fere
sententiam respondit: 'non me fallebat, Hannibal,
adventus tui spe Carthaginienses et praesentem in-
2 dutiarum fidem et spem pacis turbasse; neque tu id
sane dissimulas, qui de condicionibus superioribus pacis
omnia subtrahas praeter ea, quae iam pridem in nostra
3 potestate sunt. Ceterum ut tibi curae est sentire cives
tuos, quanto per te onere leventur, sic mihi laborandum
est, ne, [si] quae tunc pepigerunt, hodie subtracta ex
4 condicionibus pacis praemia perfidiae habeant. Indigni,
quibus eadem pateat condicio, etiam ut prosit vobis fraus
petitis. Neque patres nostri priores de Sicilia, neque
nos de Hispania fecimus bellum; et tunc Mamertinorum
sociorum periculum et nunc Sagunti excidium nobis pia
5 ac iusta induerunt arma: vos lacessisse et tu ipse fateris

et dei testes sunt, qui et illius belli exitum secundum ius fasque dederunt et huius dant et dabunt. Quod ad me 6 attinet, et humanae infirmitatis memini et vim fortunae reputo et omnia, quaecumque agimus, subiecta esse mille casibus scio; ceterum, quem ad modum superbe 7 et violenter me faterer facere, si, priusquam in Africam traiecissem, te tua voluntate cedentem Italia et imposito in naves exercitu ipsum venientem ad pacem petendam aspernarer, sic nunc, cum prope manu con- 8 sertum restitanti ac tergiversanti in Africam attraxerim, nulla sum tibi verecundia obstrictus. Proinde 9 si quid ad ea, in quae tum pax conventura videbatur, quasi multa navium cum commeatu per indutias expugnatarum legatorumque violatorum, adicitur, est quod referam ad consilium; sin illa quoque gravia videntur, bellum parate, quoniam pacem pati non potuistis.'

Ita infecta pace ex colloquio ad suos cum se recepissent, 10 frustra verba praelata renuntiant: armis decernendum esse habendamque eam fortunam, quam dei dedissent. In castra ut est ventum, pronuntiant ambo, arma ex- 32 pedirent milites animosque ad supremum certamen, non in unum diem sed in perpetuum, si felicitas adesset, victores. Roma an Carthago iura gentibus daret, ante 2 crastinam noctem scituros; neque enim Africam aut Italiam, sed orbem terrarum victoriae praemium fore; par periculum praemio, quibus adversa pugnae fortuna fuisset. Nam neque Romanis effugium ullum patebat in 3 aliena ignotaque terra et Carthagini supremo auxilio effuso adesse videbatur praesens excidium.

Ad hoc discrimen procedunt postero die duorum 4 opulentissimorum populorum duo longe clarissimi duces, duo fortissimi exercitus, multa ante parta decora aut

5 cumulaturo eo die aut eversuri. Anceps igitur spes et
metus miscebant animos; contemplantibusque modo
suam modo hostium aciem, cum non oculis magis quam
ratione pensarent vires, simul laeta simul tristia ob-
versabantur. Quae ipsis sua sponte non succurrebant,
6 ea duces admonendo atque hortando subiciebant. Poe-
nus sedecim annorum in terra Italia res gestas, tot duces
Romanos, tot exercitus occidione occisos et sua cuique
decora, ubi ad insignem alicuius pugnae memoria militem
7 venerat, referebat; Scipio Hispanias et recentia in Africa
proelia et confessionem hostium, quod neque non petere
pacem propter metum neque manere in ea prae insita
8 animis perfidia potuissent. Ad hoc colloquium Han-
nibal, in secreto habitum ac liberum fingenti, qua vult,
9 flectit; ominatur, quibus quondam auspiciis patres eorum
ad Aegates pugnaverint insulas, ea illis exeuntibus in
10 aciem portendisse deos. Adesse finem belli ac laboris.
In manibus esse praedam Carthaginis, reditum domum in
patriam ad parentes, liberos, coniuges penatesque deos.
11 Celsus haec corpore vultuque ita laeto, ut vicisse iam cre-
deres, dicebat. Instruit deinde primos hastatos, post
33 eos principes, triariis postremam aciem clausit. Non
confertas autem cohortes ante sua quamque signa in-
struebat, sed manipulos aliquantum inter se distantes,
ut esset spatium, qua elephantum hostium acti nihil ordines
2 turbarent. Laelium, cuius ante legati, eo anno quaestoris
extra sortem ex senatus consulto opera utebatur, cum
Italico equitatu ab sinistro cornu, Masinissam Numidas-
3 que ab dextro opposuit. Vias patentes inter manipulos
antesignanorum velitibus — ea tunc levis armatura erat
— complevit, dato praecepto, ut ad impetum elephantor-
um aut post directos refugerent ordines aut in dextram

laevamque discursu applicantes se antesignanis viam, qua irruerent in ancipitia tela, beluis darent. Hannibal ad 4 terrorem primos elephantos — octoginta autem erant, quot nulla umquam in acie ante habuerat — instruxit, deinde auxilia Ligurum Gallorumque Baliaribus Mau- 5 risque admixtis; in secunda acie Carthaginienses Afrosque et Macedonum legionem; modico deinde intervallo 6 relicto subsidiariam aciem Italicorum militum — Bruttii plerique erant, vi ac necessitate plures quam sua voluntate decedentem ex Italia secuti — instruxit. Equitatum et 7 ipse circumdedit cornibus; dextrum Carthaginienses, sinistrum Numidae tenuerunt. Varia adhortatio erat in 8 exercitu inter tot homines, quibus non lingua, non mos, non lex, non arma, non vestitus habitusque, non causa militandi eadem esset. Auxiliariis et praesens et multi- 9 plicata ex praeda merces ostentatur; Galli proprio atque insito in Romanos odio accenduntur; Liguribus campi uberes Italiae deductis ex asperrimis montibus in spem victoriae ostentantur; Mauros Numidasque Masinissae 10 impotenti futuro dominatu terret; aliis aliae spes ac metus iactantur. Carthaginiensibus moenia patriae, di 11 penates, sepulcra maiorum, liberi cum parentibus coniugesque pavidae, aut excidium servitiumque aut imperium orbis terrarum, nihil aut in metum aut in spem medium, ostentatur.

Cum maxime haec imperator apud Carthaginienses, 12 duces suarum gentium inter populares, pleraque per interpretes inter immixtos alienigenas agerent, tubae cornuaque ab Romanis cecinerunt, tantusque clamor ortus, ut elephanti in suos, sinistrum maxime cornu, 13 verterentur, Mauros ac Numidas. Addidit facile Masinissa percussis terrorem nudavitque ab ea parte aciem

14 equestri auxilio. Paucae tamen bestiarum intrepidae
in hostem actae inter velitum ordines cum multis suis
15 vulneribus ingentem stragem edebant. Resilientes enim
ad manipulos velites, cum viam elephantis, ne obtererentur,
fecissent, in ancipites ad ictum utrimque coniciebant
16 hastas, nec pila ab antesignanis cessabant, donec undique
incidentibus telis exacti ex Romana acie hi quoque in suos
dextrum cornu, ipsos Carthaginienses equites, in fugam
verterunt. Laelius ut turbatos vidit hostes, addidit
perculsis terrorem.

34 Utrumque nudata equite erat Punica acies, cum
pedes concurrat, nec spe nec viribus iam par. Ad hoc
dictu parva, sed magna eadem in re gerenda momenta:
congruens clamor ab Romanis eoque maior et terribilior,
dissonae illis, ut gentium multarum discrepantibus
2 linguis, voces; pugna Romana stabilis et suo et armorum
pondere incumbentium in hostem, concursatio et velocitas
3 illinc maior quam vis. Igitur primo impetu extemplo
movere loco hostium aciem Romani. Ala deinde et
umbonibus pulsantes, in summos gradu illato, ali-
quantum spatii velut nullo resistente incessere, urgentibus
4 et novissimis primos, ut semel motam aciem sentire, quod
ipsum vim magnam ad pellendum hostem addebat.
5 Apud hostes auxiliares cedentes secunda acies, Afri et
Carthaginienses, adeo non sustinebant, ut contra etiam,
ne resistentes pertinaciter primos caedendo ad se per-
6 veniret hostis, pedem referrent. Igitur auxiliares terga
dant repente, et in suos versi partim refugere in secundam
aciem, partim non recipientes caedere, ut et paulo ante
7 non adiuti et tunc exclusi. Et prope duo iam permixta
proelia erant, cum Carthaginienses simul cum hosti-
bus, simul cum suis cogerentur manus conserere. Non

tamen ita percussos iratosque in aciem acceperere, sed 8
densatis ordinibus in cornua vacuumque circa campum
extra proelium eiecere, ne pavido fuga et vulneribus
milite sinceram et integram aciem miscerent. Ceterum 9
tanta strages hominum armorumque locum, in quo
steterant paulo ante auxiliares, compleverat, ut prope
difficilior transitus esset, quam per confertos hostes
fuerat. Itaque, qui primi erant, hastati per cumulos 10
corporum armorumque et tabem sanguinis, qua quis-
que poterat, sequentes hostem et signa et ordines con-
fuderunt. Principum quoque signa fluctuari coeperant
vagam ante se cernendo aciem. Quod Scipio ubi vidit, 11
receptui propere canere hastatis iussit et sauciis in pos-
tremam aciem subductis principes triariosque in cornua
inducit, quo tutior firmiorque media hastatorum acies
esset. Ita novum de integro proelium ortum est; quippe 12
ad veros hostes perventum erat, et armorum genere et
usu militiae et fama rerum gestarum et magnitudine vel
spei vel periculi pares. Sed et numero superior Romanus 13
erat et animo, quod iam equites, iam elefantos fude-
rat, iam prima acie pulsa in secundam pugnabat. In 35
tempore Laelius ac Masinissa, pulsos per aliquantum
spatii secuti equites, revertentes in aversam hostium
aciem incurrere. Is demum equitum impetus perculit
hostem. Multi circumventi in acie caesi; multi per 2
patentem circa campum fuga sparsi tenente omnia
equitatu passim interierunt. Carthaginiensium socio- 3
rumque caesa eo die supra viginti milia; par ferme
numerus captus cum signis militaribus centum triginta
duobus, elephantis undecim. Victores ad mille et quin-
genti cecidere.

Hannibal cum paucis equitibus inter tumultum elapsus 4

- Hadrumetum perfugit, omnia et integro proelio et inclinante acie, priusquam excederet pugna, expertus et confessione etiam Scipionis omniumque peritorum militiae illam laudem adeptus, singulari arte aciem eo die instruxisse: elephantos in prima fronte, quorum fortuitus impetus atque intolerabilis vis signa sequi et servare ordines, in quo plurimum spei ponerent, Romanos prohiberent; deinde auxiliares ante Carthaginiensium aciem, ne homines mixti ex colluvione omnium gentium, quos non fides teneret, sed merces, liberum receptum fugae haberent, simul primum ardorem atque impetum hostium excipientes fatigarent ac, si nihil aliud, vulneribus suis ferrum hostile hebetarent; tum, ubi omnis spes esset, milites Carthaginienses Afrosque, ut, omnibus rebus aliis pares, eo, quod integri cum fessis ac sauciis pugnarent, superiores essent; Italicos intervallo quoque diremptos, incertos, socii an hostes essent, in postremam aciem summos.
- Hoc edito velut ultimo virtutis opere Hannibal cum Hadrumetum refugisset, accitusque inde Carthaginem sexto ac tricesimo post anno, quam puer inde profectus erat, redisset, fassus in curia est non proelio modo se sed bello victum, nec spem salutis alibi quam in pace impetranda esse.
- Scipio confestim a proelio expugnatis hostium castris direptisque cum ingenti praeda ad mare ac naves rediit nuntio adlato P. Lentulum cum quinquaginta rostratis, centum onerariis, cum omni genere commeatus ad Uticam accessisse. Admovendum igitur undique terrorem percussae Carthagini ratus, misso Laelio Romam cum victoriae nuntio Cn. Octavium terrestri itinere ducere legiones Carthaginem iubet; ipse ad suam veterem nova Lentuli classe adiuncta profectus ab Utica portum

Carthaginiis petit. Haud procul aberat, cum velata in-
fulis ramisque oleae Carthaginiensium occurrit navis.
Decem legati erant, principes civitatis, auctore Hannibale
missi ad petendam pacem. Qui cum ad puppim prae-
toriae navis accessissent velamenta supplicum porri-
gentes, orantes implorantesque fidem ac misericordiam
Scipionis, nullum iis aliud responsum datum, quam ut
Tynetem venirent; eo se moturum castra. Ipse ad
contemplandum Carthaginiis situm non tam noscendi in
praesentia quam terrendi hostis causa proventus Uticam,
eodem et Octavio revocato, rediit. Inde procedentibus
ad Tynetem nuntius adlatus Verminam Syphacis filium
cum equitibus pluribus quam peditibus venire Cartha-
giniensibus auxilio. Pars exercitus cum omni equitatu
Saturnalibus primis agmen adgressa Numidarum levi
certamine fudit. Exitu quoque fugae intercluso ab omni
parte circumdatis equitibus quindecim milia hominum
caesa, mille et ducenti vivi capti, et equi Numidici mille
et quingenti, signa militaria duo et septuaginta. Regulus
ipse inter tumultum cum paucis effugit. Tum ad Tynetem
eodem quo antea loco castra posita, legatique triginta ab
Carthagine ad Scipionem venerunt. Et illi quidem multo
miserabilius quam antea, quo magis cogebat fortuna,
egerunt; sed aliquanto minore cum misericordia ab
recenti memoria perfidiae auditi sunt. In consilio quam-
quam iusta ira omnes ad delendam stimulabat Carthagi-
nem, tamen cum et quanta res esset et quam longi tem-
poris obsidio tam munitae et tam validae urbis reputarent,
et ipsum Scipionem exspectatio successoris venturi ad
paratam alterius labore ac periculo finiti belli famam
sollicitaret, ad pacem omnium animi versi sunt. Postero
die revocatis legatis et cum multa castigatione perfidiae

- monitis, ut tot cladibus edocti tandem deos et ius iurandum esse crederent, condiciones pacis dictae, ut liberi legibus
2 suis viverent; quas urbes quosque agros quibusque finibus ante bellum tenuissent, tenerent, populandique finem eo
3 die Romanus faceret; perfugas fugitivosque et captivos omnes redderent Romanis et naves rostratas praeter decem
4 triremes traderent elephantosque, quos haberent, domitos, neque domarent alios; bellum neve in Africa neve extra
Africam iniussu populi Romani gererent; Masinissae res
5 redderent foedusque cum eo facerent; frumentum stipendiumque auxiliis, donec ab Roma legati redissent, praestarent. Decem milia talentum argenti, discripta pensionibus
6 aequis in annos quinquaginta, solverent; obsides centum arbitrato Scipionis darent, ne minores quattuordecim annis neu triginta maiores. Indutias ita se
daturum, si per priores indutias naves onerariae captae, quaeque fuissent in navibus, restituerentur; aliter nec
indutias nec spem pacis ullam esse.
- 7 Has condiciones legati cum domum referre iussi in contione ederent, et Gisgo ad dissuadendam pacem processisset audireturque a multitudine inquieta eadem
8 et imbelli, indignatus Hannibal dici ea in tali tempore audirique, adreptum Gisgonem manu sua ex superiore loco detraxit. Quae insueta liberae civitati species cum
fremitem populi movisset, perturbatus militaris vir urbana
9 libertate 'Novem' inquit 'annorum a vobis perfectus post sextum et tricesimum annum redii. Militares artes, quas me a puero fortuna nunc privata nunc
10 publica docuit, probe videor scire; urbis ac fori iura, leges, mores vos me oportet doceatis.' Excusata imprudentia de pace multis verbis disseruit, quam nec
11 iniqua et necessaria esset. Id omnium maxime difficile

erat, quod ex navibus per indutias captis nihil praeter ipsas comparebat naves; nec inquisitio erat facilis, adversantibus paci qui arguerentur. Placuit naves reddi ¹² et homines utique inquiri; cetera, quae abessent, aestimanda Scipioni permitti, atque ita pecunia luere Carthaginienses. Sunt, qui Hannibalem ex acie ad mare ¹³ pervenisse, inde praeparata nave ad regem Antiochum extemplo profectum tradant, postulantique ante omnia Scipioni, ut Hannibal sibi traderetur, responsum esse Hannibalem in Africa non esse.



GRAMMARS

G. = Gildersleeve & Lodge.

A. = Allen & Greenough. •

H.B. = Hale & Buck.

B. = Bennett.

H. = Harkness.

NOTES

BOOK XXI

Chapter 1.

THE EXTRAORDINARY CHARACTER OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

1. *I may say by way of preface to a portion of my history that which many a historian has placed as the introduction of his entire work — that I intend to describe the most remarkable of all wars ever waged; namely, the war carried on against the people of Rome by the Carthaginians under the leadership of Hannibal.*

Thus Livy begins the opening chapter of the third decade, and in a masterly way he proceeds to set forth reasons for his opinion as to the importance of the war. The sentence introduced by *nam* gives four reasons arranged in pairs, two connected by *neque* . . . *neque* and two by *et* . . . *et*. These reasons are, the unsurpassed strength of these nations, the fact of their being at the acme of their power, their familiarity with one another's methods, and finally as a climax the evenly balanced contest. His explanation is continued and amplified by statements as to the hatred felt by the two nations, and in particular by Hannibal, the general of the Carthaginians. These sentences have *etiam* . . . *etiam* as linking words, indicating that though their resources were great, their hatred was greater as compared with other contests.

1. *summae* : the noun, with which *totius* agrees; it is opposed to *parte*. — *plerique* : here *many*, in classical prose *most*, *i.e.* the superlative of *multi*. — *rerum*, with or without *gestarum*, expresses the idea of "history." — *bellum* . . . *me scripturum (esse)* : the emphasis is on *bellum*, which stands in the prominent position. The infinitive construction goes back to *praeferi*. — *quod* : *i.e.* *id (bellum) quod* ; so *bellum* is the antecedent of *quod* although as the object of *scripturum* it is indefinite, *i.e.* "a war," but as antecedent

of *quod* it is definite, "the war." The Romans may not have noticed the difference. Here the special war, *i.e.* the Second Punic War, is pointed out by the words *Hannibale duce*. — *gessere* is not regarded as a logical part of the sentence, simply as explanatory, hence it is in the indicative mood and not subjunctive.

2. *opibus* : a broad term, *resources*, but more explicitly given in the statement of the second reason. — *inter se contulerunt arma* : *met in arms*. — *virium aut roboris* : *strength for attack and endurance for defense*. — *inter sese* : this, the usual form of reciprocal expression, may be taken with *ignotas*, which is preferable, or, with *conferebant*. — *expertas* : deponent participle used as a passive. — *et adeo* : *and so various was the fortune of war and so doubtful the contest*. — *Mars* : for "war" as *Venus* for "love" and *Bacchus* for "wine." — *qui vicerunt* = *victores*. — *fuerint* : the perfect subjunctive is the regular sequence in clauses of result after a secondary tense, to denote the final result.

3. *Odiis* : plural as participated in by many. — *Romanis indignantibus* . . . *Poenis (indignantibus)* : *as the Romans were angry because the vanquished presumed (ultro) to wage war against the conquerors, but the Carthaginians because they had been ruled, as they believed, arrogantly and rapaciously*. *Romanis* is opposed to *Poenis*, and this opposition is marked by the asyndeton. Livy places *victoribus* with *victi* for contrast. — *crederent* : this does not give the reason, and the point of the sentence may be seen in the English rendering, *because they were ruled, as they thought*. The use of *crederent* emphasizes the responsibility of the Carthaginians and is stronger than if the verb *imperitare* in the subjunctive had been given alone. — *superbe avareque* : what did Livy have in mind ? — *victis* : dative with impersonal passive, *imperitatum esse*.

4. *Fama est* : this expression shows that Livy here turns from recognized facts to an incident not necessarily worthy of credence. The sentence in outline is *fama est Hannibalem . . . altaribus admotum . . . iure iurando adactum esse*. It illustrates Livy's picturesque way of describing an incident. The young boy, seeing the sacrifice and learning its purpose, begs to be taken along, and when the request is granted is himself bound by an oath. Hence a prominent position is given to *blandientem* . . . *ut duceretur*,

coaxing his father to take him with him. — **annorum** : gen. of quality with a proper noun where we expect *puerum*. This joining of the quality directly to the noun shows the tendency of the post-Ciceronian prose toward the more concise form. — **Africo bello** : war with the mercenaries. — **traiecturus** : *when on the point of leading his army thither*. Livy uses the future participle freely as expressing likelihood, intention, and at times as an apodosis. This extension in the use of the participle is one method of giving greater flexibility to the language. — **tactis sacris** : abl. absolute. The Latin follows the order of occurrence, — he is brought to the altar, places his hands on the victim, and takes the oath. — **hostem** : Appian, the Greek writer of Roman history, living in the early part of the second century A.D., in his *Wars in Spain*, makes a statement similar to Livy's — "he would be an enemy of Rome when he arrived at man's estate." Polybius, 3. 11. 7, has "he would never be a friend to the Romans," and is followed by Nepos, *Hannibal*, 2. 4, *numquam me in amicitia cum Romanis fore*. Livy uses the same negative form in 35. 19. 3, *numquam amicum fore populi Romani*. The positive form, *hostem fore*, as used here suggests aggressive war.

5. **Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae** : *the loss of Sicily and Sardinia*. The concrete noun with the participle takes the place of an abstract noun, for the idea of the abstract noun is given in the participle. The preference of the Romans for the concrete is shown in the frequent use of *res*, so *desperatione rerum*. — **spiritus** : genitive. — **nam** : *for (he thought that) Sicily had been abandoned with too ready despair*. A free use of the indirect discourse, hence the infinitive construction (*concessam esse*) going back to the thought in *angebant*, which, as the tense shows, indicates the state of Hamilcar's mind while performing the action of the preceding sentence. It answers the question immediately suggested after the closing words *hostem fore populo Romano*, i.e. why did Hamilcar have such hatred? The *nam* introduces the explanation of the reference to his feeling in regard to Sicily and Sardinia. — **inter motum** : i.e. during the *bellum Africum* mentioned above. — **insuper imposito interceptam** : note alliteration and assonance. The tense of *imposito* indicates a time relation to the main verb, which is the same as *interceptam*.

Chapter 2.

HAMILCAR AND HASDRUBAL IN SPAIN

1. **His anxius** : *agitated by these troubles, he (Hamilcar) so bore himself in the African War which immediately followed the conclusion of peace with Rome, etc.* There is no break in the continuity of thought, for *angebant* is followed here by *anxius*. — **Africo bello** : war with the mercenaries. See Introduction. — **pacem** : at the close of the First Punic War. — **per quinque annos** : construction is purposely varied with *annis*, which follows. Livy is using round numbers, for Polybius, 1. 88. 7, gives three years and four months to the Mercenary War. Livy's figures, five years for the Mercenary War, nine for Hamilcar in Spain, and eight for Hasdrubal's control, make the year 219, and no time remains for Hannibal's campaigns in Spain. This is an instance of Livy's unreliability as an historian.

2. **ut appareret** : the outline is *ut appareret eum . . . agitare . . . et . . . Poenos illaturos fuisse*. — **agitare in animo** : *was meditating*. — **maius** : with *bellum*, i.e. the war with Rome.

3. **peropportuna** : *very opportune*, because Carthaginians were not ready and Romans had their own troubles in Gaul. — **pueritia** : does not usually extend beyond seventeen years; Hannibal was eighteen when his father died.

4. **uti ferunt** : *at first becoming a favorite of Hamilcar because of his youth and beauty, as the story goes, and then because of other characteristics — undoubtedly (profecto) those of mind — being chosen as his son-in-law*. — **primo** : followed by *inde* in place of *deinde*. — **profecto** : in its own phrase matches *uti ferunt* in the preceding, for the latter indicates a question as to the truth of the statement. — **flore** : note three ways of expressing cause, — simple abl., *ob* with acc., and the *quia* clause. — **factionis Barcinæ** : the popular and the war party. The adjective comes from *Barca*, meaning "lightning," the surname of Hamilcar. The opposite party was led by Hanno, and consisted of the aristocrats who opposed the war. — **haud sane** : *certainly not by the will of the aristocracy*.

5. *consilio . . . vi: policy . . . force.* *Consilio* is explained by *hospitiis* and *conciliandis novis gentibus*; *vi* is explained by *bello aut armis*. The latter expression is double so as to balance the former. — *hospitiis*: from *hospitium*, the technical term among the Romans for friendly relations—guest friendships—existing between individuals and states, often ratified by tokens, *tesserae hospitales*. — *regulorum*: *petty chiefs*. — *principum*: *leading men*.

6. *Ceterum*: moreover, although he was a man of peace, his life was no more safe; *ceterum*, originally meaning *for the rest*, used as an adversative by Terence (*Eun.* 452) and Cicero (*Ad Qu. Fr.* II.12.1), otherwise not before Sallust (G. 491 note), is employed freely by Livy to denote a transition—*e.g.* a resumption after a digression (21. 5. 1)—or opposition as here, and generally in place of the adversative particle *sed*, particularly when indicating a new authority. — *barbarus*: in emphatic position—he was a native, not a soldier—confirming the preceding statement. In this narrative sentence, Livy in his customary way enumerates the details of the incident in the order in which they took place. A native Gaul in anger slew Hasdrubal, was seized by the bystanders, and was tortured on the rack. — *ob iram*: *enraged on account of Hasdrubal's execution of his master*. For concrete noun *domini* with participle *interfecti*, in place of abstract noun cf. *Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae*. — *haud alio vultu*: *he had the same look as if he had escaped*, *i.e.* he showed no terror. *Comprehensus* with the effect *haud alio vultu* is matched by the climax *tormentis* with the effect *eo fuit habitu oris*. — *praeberit*: perf. subj. after a past tense, in a consecutive sentence denoting final result (G. 513, A. 485, c).

7. *Cum hoc Hasdrubale*: returns to the main account, as is shown by the *quia* clause, which mentions anew the work of Hasdrubal as already described in the sentence *is plura . . . gerens . . . auxit*. — *foedus*: the treaty of 241 B.C. was renewed in 225 according to Livy, with the added clause *ut fines*, etc., *providing that*. This provision is not given by Polybius and the statement is unreliable. It may have been added by some writer of a pro-Roman spirit, for it justifies the Roman action as to Saguntum. — *Saguntinis*: Saguntum was a city of Greek origin situated about ninety miles southwest of the mouth of the Ebro. It was therefore in the territory which the Carthaginians were

allowed, by treaty, to occupy. This special provision therefore was needed to place the Carthaginians in the wrong. — *mediis*: inexact, as Saguntum was in the Carthaginian section if the Ebro was the dividing line.

Chapter 3.

HANNIBAL CHOSEN COMMANDER. HANNO'S OPPOSITION

1. In *Hasdrubalis locum*: this expression is not consistent with the remainder of the sentence and there is probably a serious corruption of the text. The best Mss. read *praerogativa militaris* . . . *sequebatur*. The sentence may be translated if we read *praerogativam militarem* . . . *sequeretur*, but it is unsatisfactory because of *in Hasdrubalis locum*, which apparently needs some words indicating the election of Hannibal by the soldiers. The sentence would then read *In place of Hasdrubal (the soldiers chose Hannibal and) there was no question that the preference of the people followed the choice of the soldiers whereby they at once carried Hannibal into the general's tent and proclaimed him their commander with great shouts of approval on the part of all*. If we omit the words in parenthesis the sentence stands as an anacoluthon and the thought of the author has changed after *locum*. — *praerogativam*: Livy uses many technical Roman terms to make clear to his reader Carthaginian usages. This word (*praerogare*, to vote) was used as an adjective with *tribus* or *centuria* to indicate the one selected to vote first in the *comitia*. This first vote often determined the election, as it was regarded as an omen. The word was then used as a noun indicating the "choice which others follow."

2. *accersierat*: from *accerso*, a form due to the transposition of the letters of *arcesso*. Livy here and in Chap. 4. 1, is following the account of Coelius Antipater, who states that Hannibal went to Spain on the summons of Hasdrubal. This account implies a return to Carthage after the death of Hamilcar, and is not consistent with other statements of Livy in 21. 1. 4, and 30. 37. 9. In the latter citation Hannibal is represented as saying that he left Carthage when nine years old and returned thirty-six years later. Polybius also declares that Hannibal began his career in camp in his ninth year. — *res*: the proposal as to Hanni-

bal's going to Hasdrubal. — **etiam**: *i.e.* he was sent for and his friends also brought up the matter in the senate.

3. **Et aequum**: *Hasdrubal's demand seems to be fair, nevertheless I do not think that we should grant his request.* — **tribuendum**: supply *esse*.

4. **admiratione**: surprise which the paradox was intended to produce. — **Florem aetatis**: *youthful beauty*. This sentence explains why Hasdrubal's demand seemed fair. — **iusto iure**: *suo iure, i.e.* he has a good right to claim in turn from his son. — **eum**: *i.e. florem*, which is thus brought forward to the verb. — **nos tamen**: explains the second statement of the paradox. — **rudimento**: *military training*. — **libidini**: Livy may have had in mind the condition of affairs in the Roman army in his own day.

5. **An hoc timemus**: this is the second part of a double question, the first member of which is implied. An omission of this kind indicates indignation or surprise (G. 457). The sense is (should we not oppose this or) *are we in fear that the son of Hamilcar may not early enough see unrestrained power and the manifestation of his father's kingly authority?* — **regni**: and **regis** are used with the Roman dislike of these terms and stand for the practically independent position which these generals attained and assumed. — **et cuius regis**: in translating take **regis** with **filio**; and that we may not soon enough (*parum mature*) come under the dominion of the son of that king to whose son-in-law our armies have been left as an inheritance?

6. **Ego**: emphatic, *I for my part*. — **aequo iure**: *on the same terms*. — **quandoque**: here indefinite in place of *aliquando* or *quando* as after *num, si, or ne*. — **parvus ignis incendium ingens**: note chiasmic order and cf. *imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem*. In this sentence *sub legibus* matches *immodica* in the preceding, likewise *sub magistratibus, regni, and aequo iure, serviamus*.

Chapter 4.

HANNIBAL'S CHARACTER

1. A close analysis of this chapter will show Livy's skill in description. Beginning with the interest Hannibal aroused among the soldiers because of his likeness to Hamilcar in his best days,

he passes on to Hannibal's own qualities, which are described in the twofold relation of a subordinate soldier (*parendum*) and a commander (*imperandum*). This double reference is continued in *imperatorī an exercitui*, in *Hasdrubal praeficere malle . . . milites confidere aut audere*, and in *plurimum audaciae* and *plurimum consilii*. All this is supported by an enumeration of other characteristics generally arranged in pairs, *corpus . . . animus; patientia . . . modus; vestitus . . . arma atque equi; princeps . . . ultimus*. Against this is set the Roman view as a foil to the favorable description and finally the chapter closes with a sentence containing the same double reference to Hannibal as a soldier (*meruit*) and as a commander (*futuro duci*).

Missus: the prominent position of this word calls attention to the fact that, in spite of the protest of Hanno, Hannibal was sent to Spain.

2. credere and intueri: historical infinitives as used in descriptions, so also *malle* and *confidere aut audere* below. Each pair of infinitives gives the particulars of the circumstance stated in the sentence preceding. — **vigorem in vultu vimque**: alliteration is often used by Livy when making an effective combination of words. — **habitum oris lineamentaue**: same expression and the same features. — **pater in se**: likeness to his father; *se* is abl.

3. Numquam: never was the same nature better adapted to duties so opposed. — **parendum atque imperandum**: gerunds in opposition with *res*, a usage rare until Livy. — **discerneres**: the subjunctive of the indefinite second person, potential, placed in the past, increases with the development of the language (G. 258; A. 447. 2; H.B. 517. 1). Found rarely in early Latin, it becomes common in Livy.

4. quemquam: not *aliquem*, as the sentence is negative. — **fortiter ac strenue**: this combination of the qualities implied in *fortis* and *strenuus* represented the Roman ideal. It is a favorite collocation in Livy, but is found in other writers as far back as Cato (Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 17. 13. 3). — **ubi . . . agendum esset**: the iterative subjunctive which is common in Livy but rare in Cicero and Caesar. It follows the simple relative, also *cum, si ubi*, etc. (G. 567 note; A. 518. c; H.B. 540). — **alio duce**: abl. abs. of military language.

6. *cibi potionisque . . . modus*: the amount of food and drink was determined, etc. Note that in these three sentences the genitives denoting the leading idea are placed first. The enumerative character of the description is marked by the asyndeton. — *vigiliarum somnique*: the hours of waking and sleeping were not determined by day and night.

7. *gerendis rebus*: dative with *superesset*; whatever time remained after his duties were ended. — *superesset*: another instance of iterative subjunctive. — *ea*: i.e. *quies*. — *custodias stationesque*: sentinels and pickets.

8. *Vestitus*: his dress was in no respect finer than that of his comrades. This is an instance of abridged comparison, as *inter aequales* stands for *inter aequalium vestitus*. — *conspiciebantur*: attracted attention.

9. *virī virtutes vitia*: Livy in his desire for alliteration uses *virī* for *eius*. — *vitia*: an opinion of prejudice due to the humiliation which the Romans suffered at the hands of the Carthaginians. Livy himself in other parts of his history (25. 17; 27. 28) shows how exaggerated is this statement as to Hannibal, although his cruelty is elsewhere referred to (21. 57. 13; 22. 50. 6; 59. 14). Polybius (9. 22. 7) declares such a charge exaggerated. — *perfidia plus . . . Punica*: *Punica fides* became a proverb among the Romans. The Carthaginians had certainly experienced the *perfidia Romana*. — *nihil veri*: in place of a negative abstract noun. These expressions are in apposition with *vitia*. No regard for truth, no respect for religion, no fear of the gods, no respect for an oath, no scruples.

10. *indole*: with these characteristics of virtue and vice. — *meruit*: served. The word obtains this meaning through *meruit stipendia*, i.e. *earned his pay*. — *futuro*: note the free use of the future participle which is characteristic of Livy's style. In Ciceronian Latin the future active participle is almost wholly limited to the periphrastic conjugation. Here the meaning is *intending to be*.

Chapter 5.

HANNIBAL'S MILITARY OPERATIONS IN SPAIN

1. This chapter is preliminary to the operations before Saguntum which are of such vital importance in the history of the Second

Punic War. It details the subjugation of the Olcades, Vaccaei and Carpetani and the consequent control, on the part of the Carthaginians, of the entire section south of the Ebro with the exception of Saguntum.

Ceterum: this word indicates the resumption of the narrative which was interrupted at Chap. 3. 2, and the first part of the sentence recalls the last part of Chap. 3. 1; *declaratus* repeats *favor plebis sequeretur*, and not *appellatus*, which merely refers to the nomination by the army. — **Italia:** this indicates that Hannibal's main object is not Spain, but the subjugation of Italy, an assumption which is maintained from this point on. — **provincia:** the Roman technical term for *department* and so used here, although in Livy's day *provincia* had its final and most common meaning. — **ex quo die:** this clause modifies *Italia decreta* and *bellum mandatum*, for the assignment of a department followed an appointment as commander. We may break this sentence at *nihil* and translate, *Moreover from the day on which he was proclaimed general he considered Italy as his department and the Roman war as his peculiar commission. (As if this were true) he thought that there should be no postponement lest like his father Hamilcar and afterwards Hasdrubal he too while delaying should be surprised by some mischance, and he therefore determined upon war with Saguntum.*

3. movebantur: the imperfect tense expresses the certainty of the result of an attack upon Saguntum. It takes the place of a periphrastic future which is lacking in the passive; *because it was certain that Rome would be aroused to arms by an attack on Saguntum.* — **ultra:** from Rome as a point of view; *trans* is the usual word with terms or names denoting boundaries, e.g. rivers and mountains. — **in parte magis quam in dicione:** *within the boundaries of Carthaginian power rather than under its dominion.* The terms of the treaty as given in Chap. 2. 7 established this. — **induxit exercitum:** i.e. from New Carthage north. — **rerum serie:** *by the order of events.* This is explained by *finitimis domitis gentibus* and by *iungendo* which is here used absolutely for the gradual annexation of territory.

4. quo metu: *the smaller states were smitten with terror by this attack and submitted to his authority and to the tax he imposed*

upon them. — **stipendio imposito**: this abl. abs. gives an additional fact, from the point of view of the Carthaginians; an abrupt change which shows the less formal style. — **victor**: substantive used as an adjective. This is an early use found in the poets and common in Livy. — **Carthaginem Novam**: the word Carthage means "new city," hence there is a doubling due to the neglect of the original meaning of the word. Cf. the English "blackamoor." This city is the modern Cartagena. — **hiberna**: the winter of 221-220 B.C.

5. Ibi large partiendo: *there by a free distribution of the spoils and by the faithful discharge of all arrearages of pay.* — **stipendio**: this word in the preceding sentence meant *tax*, here *pay of a soldier*. — **animis in se firmatis**: *strengthened in their loyalty*. The way in which this was accomplished is given in the *partiendo* and *exsolvendo*. — **bellum promotum**: again a sudden change in point of view, for the first part of the sentence leads us to expect *promovit*. These abrupt changes are simply an evidence of the freer and less formal use of the language.

7. Ab Hermandica profugi: Livy frequently has the preposition *ab* before the name of a town where classical usage would call for the simple ablative. This use is characteristic of the language of Livy and comes from the speech of the people. The use of prepositional phrases and adverbial expressions as attributes is also characteristic of Livy's style. It may be the result of poetic or Greek influence. *Profugi* is an instance of an adjective used as a noun. This language custom of employing adjectives and participles as substantives is considerably extended in Livy. Cicero uses a few adjectives thus, when designating a class, as *boni, docti, mortales*. In the case of *profugi*, as elsewhere, there is a verbal force so that *ab Hermandica profugi* is equivalent to *ei qui ab Hermandica profugerant*. Cf. 19. 5, *receptos in fidem* = *eos qui in fidem recepti essent*. — **cum se iunxissent**: in clauses of this kind the temporal notion has almost disappeared and they conveniently take the place of participial constructions (G. 585; A. 544; H.B. 524, a).

8. procul Tago: the usual prose form is *procul ab*. Livy uses the condensed form so that *procul* virtually becomes a preposition.

9. *ita producto*: Hannibal arranged his intrenchment either a short distance from the bank or above or below the ford so as to give the enemy an opportunity of reaching the shore and to induce them to cross. It is difficult to say just how this was done. He intended to place his infantry behind the intrenchments and to use his cavalry in attacking while the enemy were in the act of crossing.

12. *invicta acies*: the apodosis of the condition *si dimicaretur*, and equivalent to *quae invicta fuisset*. The sentence opening with *itaque* and closing with the climax *in amnem ruunt*, describes the action of the enemy for which Hannibal had made preparations as given in § 9 and § 10. The sentence following describes the cavalry attack and the uneven contest in the river which Hannibal had also planned. The attack by the infantry is given in § 16.—*id morari*: thinking that the only obstacle to their victory was the fact that the river intervened.—*qua cuique proximum est*: each one taking the nearest way.

13. *ex parte altera ripae*: from the opposite bank. The principal sentence is *vis ingens . . . immissa (est) et concursum (est)*. The *haudquaquam pari certamine* is explained by the remainder of the sentence *quippe ubi pedes . . . perverti posset, eques . . . rem gereret*.

14. The *pedes instabilis* is balanced by *eques corpore armisque liber*; *vix vado fidens*, scarcely keeping a footing in the shallow water, by *equo vel per medios gurgites stabili*; and *vel ab inermi equite equo temere acto* (driving his horse at random) *perverti posset* corresponds to *comminus minusque rem gereret*.

16. *Postremi*: the subject of the dependent verb *colligerentur* is placed in the most prominent part of the sentence to draw the attention of the reader to that remnant of the enemy which the Carthaginians were now about to attack. Begin the sentence with *cum*.—*ex varia trepidatione*: from the various parts to which they had fled. Thrown into terror by the experience of their comrades, they had scattered, but were now gathered in a body on the bank.—*priusquam reciperent*: for subjunctive see G. 577; A. 551, b; H.B. 507, 4.—*agmine quadrato*: with his line in fighting order. The troops were not in a square but were so arranged

as to make any one of the four sides a front whenever necessary. On the march this was accomplished by having the baggage in the center.

17. Et iam: this sentence closes the preliminary chapter and introduces the episode of the attack on Saguntum. — **trans:** from Livy's point of view.

Chapter 6.

THE SAGUNTINES ASK ROME FOR HELP. ENVOYS ARE SENT FROM ROME

1. This chapter is linked with the preceding by the word *Saguntinis*, which has a prominent place in the first sentence, and recalls *Saguntinos*. — **cum:** the preposition. — The order of words in the parts of the first sentence form a chiasmus, thus *cum Saguntinis* corresponds to *cum finitimis*, *bellum* to *belli causa certamina* and *nondum* to *iam*. — **ceterum:** here = *sed*. — **cum finitimis:** the quarrels were started by Hannibal between the Saguntines and their neighbors, principally the Turdetani. The tribe of this name lived in the southwestern part of Spain in Baetica. As these cannot be regarded as *finitimi* to the Saguntines Livy must refer to some other people, perhaps a branch of this tribe living nearer Saguntum. They are mentioned in a similar connection in 24. 42. 11. In 28. 39. 8, some Mss. read *Turdetani*, one *Turdeli*. From the latter Gronovius has *Turduli*. Appian, *Hisp.* 10, speaks of them under the name *Turbuletes*.

2. Quibus cum adesset idem: *when the very man who was the sower of strife took the side of this people*. — **adesset:** the technical name for advocacy in court. The figure is continued in *iuris*. — **sator:** recalls the *serebantur*. — **nec certamen:** *not a settlement by arbitration but strife was sought*. — **orantes:** the very rare use of the present participle after a verb of motion expressing purpose. It is analogous to the more common use of the future participle to express the same idea. A. 490, 3; H.B. 606.

3. Consules: Livy here names the consuls of the year 218 although the siege began in 219 in the consulship of M. Livius Salinator and L. Æmilius Paulus. In Chap. 15 Livy recognizes the difficulty which the chronological error has caused. — **Qui cum:** the remainder of the chapter deals with the occurrences in the Roman Senate

and therefore abounds in technical words and expressions, e.g. *de republica rettulissent*, brought forward a question as to the policy of the state; *placuisset*, it was resolved; *relata de integro re*, the matter was brought up anew; *decernentes*, expressing their opinions; *censebant*, voted in favor.

4. *quibus si* = *qui si eis*, the relative pronoun, whose antecedent is *legatos* and whose verbs are *denuntiarent*, *traicerent*, and *deferrent*, is drawn into the preceding clause and receives the construction appropriate to that clause. — *et, et, ac*: note the three connectives. The *ac* brings the emphasis upon the *querimonias deferrent*. — *sociis*: Mommsen sets the date of the alliance as 226 B.C., just before the treaty referred to in Chap. 2. 7.

5. *hac legatione decreta*: the preceding sentence, purposely left incomplete for rhetorical effect, is briefly summed up in these words. The technical name for the figure is aposiopesis, i.e. an abrupt pause. — *necdum missa*: Polybius says this embassy, "to look into the affairs of their allies," was actually sent. It met Hannibal at New Carthage in the winter before the siege and then went on to Carthage. Polybius makes no mention of an embassy which acted as here described by Livy. — *omnium spe celerius*: sooner than any one expected. — *spe* = *expectatione*.

6. *alii*: there are three different opinions which are indicated by *alii*, *alii*, and *erant qui*. The verbs are *censebant*, *intendebant*, and *censerent*. Livy aims to avoid monotony. — *intendebant*: stands for *intendendum censebant* as it corresponds to *rem gerendam censebant*.

7. *expectandosque*: the *que* is adversative because of the negative preceding. — *eo maturius*: the *eo* refers to the character of the opinion which prevailed. As it was resolved that a waiting policy should be followed until the return of the envoys from Spain, the sending of the envoys should be more speedy.

8. *si non absisteretur*: the apodosis of this is in the *inde missi (irent) Carthaginem*. The direct form would be *inde ite Carthaginem si non absisteretur*. — *ad ducem deposcendum*: this is Livy's favorite method of expressing purpose. It is varied here with *in poenam*, an instance of the final use of *in*, which is common in Livy, and occurs in ante- and post-classical writers. — *foederis rupti*: concrete noun and participle in place of the abstract noun.

Chapter 7.

THE SIEGE OF SAGUNTUM

The description of the siege has been likened to a tragedy in five acts. It extends from Chap. 7. to 15. 3, but the continuity of the story is broken by two episodes, the first of which describes the visit of the Roman envoys, Chap. 9. 3 to 11. 3; the second gives an account of the endeavors of Alco and Alorcus to bring about a truce, Chap. 12. 3 to 14. The entire description is in Livy's best rhetorical style and as a Roman he purposely emphasizes and elaborates the details of the siege which he desires his readers to regard as the cause of the war just beginning, and thus endeavors to place his countrymen in the right.

1. **Dum parant:** incomplete coextension, hence *dum* with a present tense. G. 570; A. 556. — **Saguntum:** this is the Latin form of Ζάκυνθος, Zacynthus, made in the days when the Latin alphabet did not have a Z nor use TH for θ, and when C had its original value G. Hence in transferring this word to Latin, Z was represented by S, κ by C with value G, and θ by T, and finally υ by V. The o was represented by O which later became an V when the ending of second declension changed from *om* to *um*. Zacynthus is the transliteration of the days of Livy. It was one of the Ionian islands now Zante. Saguntum is now called Murviedro (*muri veteres*).

2. **Oriundi:** agrees with *cives* implied in *civitas*. This is an adjective derived from *orior*, and is a favorite word with Livy. *The inhabitants came originally, as the story goes, from the island of Zacynthus and there were mingled with them some of Rutulian origin from Ardea.* — **Rutulorum:** depends on *generis=gentis*. — **Ab Ardea:** this prepositional phrase is similar in its use as an attributive of *Rutulorum* to *ab Hermandica* as attributive of *pro-fugi* in Chap. 5. 7. Ardea was an old town of Latium south of Rome, hence Livy may have endeavored thus to account for the Roman alliance.

3. **ceterum:** here resumptive, taking the reader back to *longe opulentissima* in § 2, and explaining it. Livy suggests three explanations for their growth in wealth, placing as the climax their regard for their obligations, which in Livy's day had become proverbial.

— *seu maritimis*: either by the income from sea or land or by the growth in population or by the exactness of their training whereby they maintained their loyalty to their allies even to their own destruction.

5. *cetera*: sc. *loca*, i.e., the neighboring country. — *circa*: an instance of the use of an adverb or adverbial expression as an adjective and is equivalent to *quae circa erant*. This usage, rare before his time, is common in Livy and other silver-age writers. — *vergens*: looking towards a valley more level. Note the alliterative couplets in this sentence *planiorem patentioremque, cetera circa, vallem vergens*. — *per quas*: under which. — *posset*: subjunctive of purpose. — *moenibus*: a dative with a prepositional compound, describing local relations.

6. *ut . . . ita*: although . . . yet, a usage rare in Cicero, but becoming more common in the silver writers. — *procul muro*: compressed form for *procul a muro* as *procul Tago*, Chap. 5. 8. — *ita haudquaquam prospere*: yet when they reached the execution of the work undertaken (actually attacking the wall), the attempt was not at all successful. — *coeptis succedebat*: impersonal use here and in 25. 37. 19, but personal 24. 19. 6, and 42. 58. 1.

7. *et . . . et . . . et*: these words introduce the three reasons given for the lack of success. — *supra ceterae modum altitudinis*: Livy means above the height of the other parts of the wall, but is economical in the use of words by placing *ceterae* in agreement with *altitudinis*. — *emunitus*: a Vergilian word in which the preposition refers to the height so built up. — *iuventus delecta*: used collectively with a plural verb, a rare usage in prose before Livy. G. 211. (a); A. 317. d. — *ubi plurimum periculi*: where most danger and fear were looked for. *timor* is used in the sense of cause for fear.

8. *submovere* and *pati*: historical infinitives. — *hostem*: the Carthaginians, — *munientibus*, the besiegers; hence these two words refer to the same force, the former being general, the latter particular. — *nec quicquam*: they allowed those busy on the works no sort of safety. — *pro moenibus atque turri*: recalling the *turris et murus* above. — *micare*: historical infinitive. The word is a poetic (Vergilian) substitute for *volare* and describes the discharge of weapons from the walls and tower by referring to the gleam of

the metal or perhaps to the fire which they bore. Cf. *accensum*, Chap. 8. 12. — *stationes operaque*: *outposts and works of the enemy*. The first refers to the different divisions of men engaged in the siege at various points; the second to the mechanical contrivances used by these, such as the *vineae*.

9. *quibus tumultuariis certaminibus*: *skirmishes, i.e. fighting outside of the regular line of battle*.

10. *ut vero*: introducing the climax. — *adversum femur*: *in the front of his thigh*, the part exposed to the enemy. This is the accusative of the part affected with the passive verb, often termed Greek accusative. It belongs to the language of poetry and is also colloquial. G. 338. 1, 2 (note); A. 397, b; H.B. 388. — *circa*: *i.e. near to Hannibal*; *circa* is in the attributive position, *i.e. between the tanta and its noun*. It modifies *fuga*. — *ut non multum*: *so that the works and the sheds were all but deserted*. — *opera ac vineae*: the first is general and the second specific.

Chapter 8.

VIGOROUS RESISTANCE OF THE SAGUNTINES

In this chapter Livy continues the description of the siege, specifying three different items of interest. These are the number of points of attack and the number of combatants on each side, the vigorous assault and the brave resistance and finally the weapon which the Saguntines found most effective. Each item of interest is first suggested in a sentence introduced by an *itaque* which indicates the conclusion of the preceding statement. The progress of ideas is therefore perfectly smooth and without interruption, as the thought of one statement is thus linked with that of the following, *e.g.* in § 9, *acrius pugnabant* recalls the vigorous contest just described and *intercidente telo* suggests the description of the weapon which follows.

1. *obsidio*: *investment, blockade*. — *dum*: *while the general's wound was being cared for (treated)*. The subjunctive is due to the intention or purpose which is involved. — *ut . . . ita*: *although . . . yet*.

2. *vix accipientibus*: *although some places scarcely admitted of siege work, they began to bring up the sheds and to apply*

the battering rams (*aries*, collective).—*coeptae* (*sunt*): regularly when the passive infinitive follows the verb *coepti*, the passive form is used and exceptions are rare. Tacitus however disregards this use. G. 423. 3; H.B. 119. 2.

3. *abundabat . . . sufficebant*: note the chiasitic order. The parenthesis *ad centum creditur* also forms a chiasmus with *abundabat . . . Poenus*. We may imitate this in the following rendering, — *there were many men on the side of the Carthaginians, about one hundred and fifty thousand it is generally believed, but the townsmen, for guarding every point, after they began to be scattered in many places, were not sufficient in numbers.*

4. *coepti*: i.e. *postquam coepti sunt*.

5. *Itaque iam feriebantur*: this is the next step in the progress of the siege. — *una*: *una* (*pars*) opposed to *multae partes*. *One part of the wall, by a continuous breach, had uncovered the city for an attack.* — *tres deinceps turres*: *three towers in succession*. This phrase explains the *continentibus ruinis*. Notice again Livy's fondness for placing such a word as *deinceps* between *tres* and its noun, cf. *tanta circa fuga* above. This is similar to the Greek attributive position.

6. *ruina*: here concrete as shown by *qua . . . procursum est*. In all languages certain nouns which denote abstract ideas are ultimately treated as concrete. Naturally in the course of this change the plural would be used as concrete first, as denoting instances, and then this use would extend to the singular. This is fully exemplified in Livy in the case of *ruina* and *ruinae*. — *qua*: adverb of locality for *ruinā* i.e. *the breach*. *And here, just as if the wall had protected both alike, they (the besieged and besiegers) rushed to battle.* — *velut texisset*: the conclusion of this condition is implied thus, *velut procursum esset, si texisset*. G. 602, A. 524.

7. *quales . . . solent*: *such as commonly take place in assaults on towns, when either party has a favorable opportunity.* — *conseri*: from *consero*, -ui. The idea is "uniting in combat" as from *sero*, to sew. The same verb is used of joining war to war in 10. 4. *Sero, sevi*, to sow is used figuratively of sowing discord in Chap. 6. 1. — *iustae acies*: regular line of battle, contrasted with *tumultuariæ pugnae*. — *inter ruinas*: *between the ruins of the wall and the buildings which stood a short distance from the wall.*

8. *Hinc spes*: Livy first assigns *spes* to one side and *desperatio* to the other, and then explains each by the use of the ablative absolute construction. — *adnitatur*: the conclusion is in *cepisse* = *capturos fore* which is an anticipatory perfect and so future in idea. A. 516. e. The direct form is *cepi, si adnitar*. Cf. Chap. 44, "if this is well fixed in your minds you have conquered, i.e. you will have conquered." — *patria*: for *urbe* as the Romans readily identified the two from their own experience. — *Saguntinis . . . opponentibus*: the Saguntines placing their bodies as an obstruction in behalf of their city stripped of its walls, no one withdrawing a step lest he should let the enemy into the ground relinquished.

9. *inter arma corporaque*: i.e. the weapons either pierced the shields or struck the bodies of the combatants. This is shown by the sentence *si haesisset in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus*, below.

10. *Phalarica erat*: the Saguntines had a missile, the phalarica, with a shaft of pine. — *cetera*: the accusative of respect. In Ciceronian prose this accusative is limited to a few words, *vicem*, *partem* and *quid*. The use is extended in the later writers especially with words denoting parts of the body, also with such words as *cuncta*, *omnia*, *alia*, *cetera*. As it occurs in early Latin in the neuter of several pronouns (*id*, *aliud*, *quod*) it is colloquial, and its use is encouraged by the influence of the Greek language where this accusative of respect is common. — *id*: i.e. *extremum*. — *sicut in pilo*: modifies *quadratum*, "square form."

11. *habebat*: the subject is *phalarica*, the object *ferrum*. — *cum armis*: like the Greek dative of accompaniment "arms and all." — *id*: looks forward to the *quod* clause by which it is explained. — *haesisset* and *penetrasset*: subjunctive of repetition, not condition.

12. *medium*: this is the same as *extremum* which becomes the middle of the spear when the iron end is included in the length. Hence it was the part bound with tow and smeared with pitch. The accusative is the same as *cetera* above, and *femur* in Chap. 7. 10. — *quod . . . praebebat*: because when it was discharged with the middle portion set on fire and bore the flame, which had been kindled, fanned into a fiercer fire by the very motion, it compelled the soldiers to abandon their armor and exposed them to the blows which followed.

Chapter 9.

THE CARTHAGINIANS ARE DRIVEN BACK. ROMAN ENVOYS ARRIVE

1. This sentence sums up the results of the contest just described and the first statement as to the uncertainty (*anceps*) is explained by what follows. Note the careful arrangement of this part of the sentence, *Saguntinis* answered by *Poenus*, *quia resisterent* by *quia non vicisset*.

2. *inde*: i.e. *e ruinis*. — *fusum fugatumque*: an alliterative formula of which Livy is fond. He uses different conjunctions *ac*, *et*, and also omits the connective. — The final action is marked by the vigorous historical presents *tollunt*, *expellunt*, *exturbant*, *redigunt*, which give utmost vivacity to the concluding picture of the siege.

3. The success of the Saguntines has aroused the interest and sympathy of the reader, and just at this point Livy, with rhetorical skill, interrupts the narrative to tell of the visit of the Roman envoys. — **ab Roma**: Livy often uses the preposition with names of towns in answer to the question "whence?" choosing thus the more definite expression. — **missi**: the subject is the antecedent of *qui dicerent*. *Hannibal sent men to the sea to meet them (quibus obviam) and to say that it would not be safe for them to come among so many wild tribes*. — **tot**: modifies the entire expression *tam effrenatarum gentium*. — **in tanto discrimine**: *in such a crisis*. The *rerum* is due to the Roman fondness for the concrete. — **nec operae esse**: *did not have time*; *operae* has been classed by some as a genitive, by others as a predicate dative. Some claim that it is an abridged expression for *operae pretium esse*, "to be worth while." See Roby, *Lat. Gram.* § 1283. — **non admissos**: equivalent to a condition.

4. *litteras nuntiosque*: *messengers with letters*. — **suorum**: i.e. the Barcine faction, Hannibal's partisans.

Chapter 10.

HANNO'S SPEECH BEFORE THE CARTHAGINIAN SENATE

In examining the speeches in Livy we must remember that they have been written by the historian not as reproducing what was

actually said, but what it seemed to him a man of a certain character should or perhaps would have said under the circumstances. It must also be understood that the purpose of these speeches is to make the narrative more personal and to secure an opportunity for a display of rhetorical skill, both of which prevent the historical narrative from becoming wearisome. We must therefore consider the speeches from the standpoint of the historian and not from that of the speaker, for they express his views and the opinions of the people of his day. In this speech of Hanno, Livy intends to impress on the mind of the reader two facts, set forth in a preliminary abstract in § 3; first, that Carthage knew that the Romans would take vengeance for Hannibal's attack on Saguntum which was really aimed at Rome, and second that Hannibal, the firebrand, was the cause of all the trouble. These two ideas are interwoven with great skill through this speech and undoubtedly these were the theories of the Romans of Livy's day, and they place Rome in the better position in the general estimate of the responsibility for the conflict.

1. *quoque*: *i.e.* as well as the attempted visit to Hannibal.

2. *magno silentio*: this is matched against *cum adsensu* and a reason, *propter auctoritatem*, is given so as not to weaken the impression of the spirit of hostility of the majority. For this reason such explanation should not be given with *cum adsensu*. — *foederis*: the treaty spoken of in Chap. 2. 7.

3. *arbitros ac testis*: the gods will decide as to the violation of which they are also witnesses. — *monuisse*: and the following infinitives depend on a verb of saying implied in *obtestans*, *he had warned, he said*. Note the rhetorical omission of the connective between the infinitives save at the close where *nec joins quietura (esse) foedera* in chiasmic order to *non manes, non stirpem conquiescere*. Note that *conquiescere* and *quietura* are not used in the same sense. Hanno's warning is given in Chap. 3. — *manes, stirpem*: the entire family, dead and alive, are in active opposition to Rome. A striking expression, indicating the spirit prevailing and persisting in the Barcine family.

4. *flagrantem*: this word with *materiam igni* and *incendium* recalls the figure with which Hanno closed his first speech, Chap. 3. Here he assumes that the incipient blaze has brought the con-

flagration which he predicted and which they have encouraged. There is therefore a close link between the two speeches.—**si vivat**: the apodosis is implied in *unam viam*.

5. This section makes clear the meaning of the figurative expression in the preceding sentence, and the question, *utrum . . . ignoratis*, that follows shows the folly of their course.—**vestri**: this with *vos* and *vester* places the responsibility on the Barcine party.—**ulti**: agrees with *Romani* implied in *Romanae legiones*.

6. **fortunam**: to Livy and the Romans this meant the *Genius* of the people; and the implication is that the Carthaginians from previous experience should recognize the danger of opposing the *fortuna populi Romani*. The thought of §§ 6–10 runs thus: Hannibal has violated the law of nations and the injured have come for restitution and demand the surrender of the culprit. They can and will enforce their demands. In proof, witness the disasters at the close of the last war, which was begun by their presence at Tarentum, as this war is opened by an attack on Saguntum. If there ever was any question as to the party in the wrong, the gods have settled the matter.—**ab sociis, pro sociis**: the first refers to the Romans and the second to the people of Saguntum as allies of Rome. Emphatic in position and form they indicate how flagrant the action of Hannibal was.—**tamen**: *i.e.* in spite of this treatment.—**hostium**: set off against *sociis* above.—**res repetunt**: usual phrase for “seeking restitution.” It was customary to demand the guilty individual so as to remove the wrong from the state.—**ex foedere**: the treaty broken by Hannibal in attacking Saguntum, Chap. 2. 7.

7. **Aegatis insulas**: the location of the naval battle in 241, which brought the First Punic War to a close.—**Erycem**: the mountain fortress in Sicily where Hamilcar withstood the Romans for three years, and surrendered at the close of the war.—**quae**: this clause sums up the misfortunes of the war in the form of an indirect question. The lack of connective is summative asyndeton. *Place before your eyes the Aegates Islands, and Eryx, and in fine what you suffered on land and sea for twenty-four years.*

8. **sed**: the thought is—*notwithstanding we had then a Mars alter*, and not a *puer* (sarcastic for *iuvenis*), our violation of

a treaty led to disaster. — **Tarento**: an *ex parte* statement, for, from Polybius, 3. 26, we learn that the Carthaginians were not forbidden by treaty to sail to Tarentum. At that time Italia would not include Tarentum.

9. **vicerunt**: the emphatic position as we should expect but taking the place of *victi sumus* because Livy desires to shift the attention to the *di* who have helped in a righteous cause. — *id . . . ambigebatur*: as to the matter of dispute. When Livy used *id*, he had in mind a verb like *diiudicavit* which would govern the acc. case. He substitutes *victoriam dedit*, and the construction changes; *id* is left without any construction, and we have an anacoluthon. — **unde**: is pronominal for *a quo* and contains the antecedent of *ei*. The Romans said *stare ab aliquo*, "to stand on the side of any one."

10. In a remarkable passage Hanno shows how the operations against Saguntum are simply preliminary to a general war with Rome which will result in the siege of Carthage. Livy is of course acquainted with facts unknown to Hanno. — **Carthagini**: in emphatic position; it is Carthage, not Saguntum, which Hannibal is besieging. Next *Sagunti* is emphasized as contrasted with *nostris* — the walls of *Saguntum* will fall upon *our* heads; and finally *cum Saguntinis* is matched with *cum Romanis* and we have the climax, — war begun with *Saguntum* must be waged with Rome.

11. **Scio**: *I know my influence in his case is insignificant because of my hatred of his father*. Hanno had a personal hatred because the army had preferred Hamilcar to him in the war with the mercenaries. Polybius, 1. 82. — **Sed**: *but even though this be so I can say that I was glad when Hamilcar died and I hate this fury-of-war-with-a-torch in like manner*. — **tamquam**: prepares the way for the figurative expression.

12. **dedendum (esse)**: and the other infinitives depend on the idea of thinking in *detestor*, the omission is rhetorical and due to the impassioned statement. — **in ultimas oras**: Livy writes here with a knowledge of the fate of Hannibal.

13. **Ego ita censeo**: a technical expression as used in the Roman senate. Now we have the suggestions for which the speech has prepared us, — Rome must be pacified; Hannibal must be surrendered. — **Hannibalem**: used so as to avoid ambiguity since

ipsum might be referred to *exercitum*. — *decerno*: simply a variant for *censeo*.

Chapter 11.

DECISION OF THE CARTHAGINIAN SENATE. THE SIEGE GOES ON

1. *nemini*: *no one felt that it was necessary to reply to his speech*. — *adeo*: *in truth*. This word is here used to introduce a strong reason for what has just been said. In this sense it is common in Livy and later writers, but is rare in Cicero. — *Hannibalis*: *favoured Hannibal*. — *arguebant*: subject is *senatores* implied in *senatus*. — *locutum*: sc. *esse*. — *Flaccum Valerium*: the order *cognomen*, *nomen*, where the *praenomen* is lacking, as here, is the more primitive and colloquial, for the *cognomen* is second to the *praenomen* in degree of intimacy and would in this sense take its place. This order Cicero regularly followed when the *praenomen* was omitted, but Caesar adopted the later and more formal, *nomen*, *cognomen*. In silver Latin both are used, with a tendency rather toward the latter.

2. *ortum ab Saguntinis*: Livy's statement in Chap. 6. 1, that Hannibal was the *litis sator*, is the Roman view. Polybius, 3. 15. 8, declares that Hannibal had sent word to Carthage that the Saguntines were annoying the allies of the Carthaginians.

3. *Dum*: Livy now returns to the history of the siege which was interrupted at Chap. 9. 2. — *fessum habebat*: *he found his soldiers weary*. This use of *habeo* in classical Latin denoted especially the continuance of the effect suggested, as in *captam habet*, Chap. 13. 6. It is used by Livy more loosely and later becomes a periphrasis for the perfect or pluperfect tense and approaches the auxiliary use so familiar to us. — *iis*: because *militem* is collective. — *stimulando*: placed between *ira in hostis* and *spe praemiorum* and used with both. *Meanwhile he kindles their courage by arousing them at one time with anger against the enemy, at another by hope of reward*. *Ira hostium* could not mean "anger towards the enemy," but this meaning might be obtained by means of *odium*, which is derived from a transitive verb.

4. *ut vero*: introducing the climax. — *adeo*: here in its usual sense as introducing the antecedent to a result clause. — *videretur*

posse: an intentional variation from Cicero's order, *posse videretur*, as the sentence-close *esse videatur* had been used so generally as to become commonplace.

5. **ut . . . ita**: *although . . . yet*. — **ut reficerent**: a purpose clause. — **novum**: *build the wall anew*, i.e. on the old foundations; a strong expression with the proleptic use of *novum*.

6. **eos**: governed by *adorta est*, the subject of which is *oppugnationis*, personified. *They had to meet a much fiercer assault than before*. — **qua ferrent**: indirect question with *scire*. — **primum aut potissimum**: *first or in preference*, i.e. rather than elsewhere. Note the alliteration.

7. **Quae**: i.e. the tower. — **catapultis ballistisque**: the first discharged arrows and javelins almost horizontally, but the latter hurled stones at an angle of about 45°.

8. **occasionem**: *a favorable opportunity*. — **caementa**: *stones of an irregular shape had not been joined by the use of mortar into a firm mass, but set in clay after the manner of ancient buildings*.

9. **caederetur**: iterative subjunctive. — **ruebat**: supply *murus*. — **patentia ruinis**: here in place of *ruina*, as above, meaning "the breach"; *patentia* is a participle used as a substantive and *ruinis* is abl. of means. The use of the present participle as a substantive becomes common in Livy and the later writers.

10. **capiunt . . . circumdant**: the two verbs are connected by *que* of *collatisque*. — **velut**: this word is used because the expression is figurative, as the actual citadel of the city was in possession of the Saguntines. — **haberent**: imperfect, as *circumdant* is historical present and is placed after the dependent verb. G. 511. R. — **et**: i.e. the Saguntines as well as the Carthaginians. — **ducunt**: *build a wall in the part of the city not yet taken*. Note the local *ab*.

11. **summa vi**: *with all their might*. — **interiora tuendo**: i.e. by continually constructing inner lines of defense. This cannot mean that they built new walls every day, but that they retired and then constructed temporary protection.

12. **cum tam procul Romani**: *since the Romans were so far away*, perhaps because they were engaged in the Illyrian War of 219. — **circa**: used as above to modify a substantive and equivalent to *quae circa erant*.

13. **adfectos**: *dejected*. — **qui duo populi**: *and these two tribes*

when, dismayed by the severity of the levy, they had detained the recruiting officers and had caused fear of a revolt, were surprised by Hannibal's quick movement and laid aside their arms again.

Chapter 12.

MAHARBAL IN COMMAND. ALCO AND ALORCUS ENDEAVOR TO BRING PEACE

Livy apparently ignores the discrepancy between the first sentence of this chapter and the first statement of § 13 of the preceding. His object is the rhetorical effect.

1. *cives*: *his own people*, i.e. the Carthaginian army. It is opposed to *hostes*. If it is used with exactness as in Chap. 5. 5, it indicates only that portion of the army which could be spoken of as his fellow-citizens. These would be the first to feel the absence of the commander.

3. *Temptata*: *Then two persons, Alco of Saguntum* (so of Greek origin) *and Alorcus a Spaniard, tried to realize some hope of peace, which (however) was very slight.* At this point, when the final catastrophe apparently is at hand, Livy interrupts the narrative as at Chap. 9. 3. The rhetorical effect is marked, for at the critical moment Livy speaks of a ray of hope for this brave but unfortunate people.

4. *aliquid*: acc. of inner object. The subject of *moturum* is *se* to be supplied. — *postquam . . . movebant*: imperfect indicative with *postquam* to denote a continued state or an incomplete action. *After their tears could accomplish nothing.* — *ut*: *as was to be expected from an angry victor.* — *ferebantur* — *offerebantur*. — *transfuga*: *deserter and not an intercessor.* — *moriturum*: sc. *eum esse*. Livy frequently omits the subject of the infinitive, especially the future.

5. *Postulabatur*: *now, the demands were.* — *singulis*: this means in addition to those they wore, as is shown by *binis vestimentis*, Chap. 13. 7, and other references to the same custom: 22. 6. 11; 23. 15. 3.

6. *leges*: *terms.* — *animos*: *spirit.* Note the plural of the abstract noun as the idea pertains to a number of persons. — *alia*: e.g. *their arms, the fortifications.* — *interpretem*: in its earlier

sense of "negotiator," "intermediary"; so the idea of an intermediary or business agent between foreigners gives us its later meaning. — **publice**: *i.e.* between him and the state of Saguntum there existed the *hospitium* described above.

7. **praetorem**: Livy used this Roman title to indicate the chief magistrate of Saguntum.

8. **Quo**: *i.e.* where the praetor had his headquarters. — **senatus . . . datus est**: the Roman technical expression for giving an audience of the senate.

Chapter 13.

SPEECH OF ALORCUS

Livy has put a clever speech in the mouth of Alorcus. He begins by stating his errand and placing the responsibility for it on Alco, their fellow-citizen (*civis*, emphatic), who has failed to complete what he undertook, as he has not brought the terms of peace from Hannibal which he went for. Alorcus declares that he has therefore come out of interest in them, being their guest friend. He did not suggest peace as long as he saw that there was hope of their success. With such an introduction as this Alorcus may now state the terms and urge an acceptance of them on the ground of necessity. His last sentence pictures the disaster which non-compliance with these terms implies.

1. **supervacaneum . . . iter**: *this visit of mine would have been unnecessary*. — **quo**: *on which*. — **orator . . . transfuga**: opposed to *transfuga ex oratore factus* in Chap. 12. 4. — **veni**: Madvig reads *veni sed* for the Mss. reading *venissem*, believing that *veni sed* had been misunderstood for *venisset* and changed to *venissem*.

2. **cum . . . manserit**: *since he has remained with the enemy*. — **Ille**: in opposition to *ego* below. — **si periculum . . . vera referentibus**: *if those who tell the truth to you are in danger*. — **pro hospitio**: *on account of the old guest friendship which exists between us*.

3. **Vestra autem causa**: *however for your sake*. Note emphatic position of *vestra*. — **me loqui**: depends on *fides*. — **ullius alterius**: with *causa*. — **vel**: *even*. There is no need of saying more. — **ea**: in accordance with the Latin usage this agrees with *fides*, the predicate noun. It stands for the *quod mentionem feci* clause. —

sit: subjunctive of exhortation. — **dum sperastis**: note the tense here used with *dum*.

4. **Postquam . . . est**: *postquam* with the present indicative has a causal force and means "now that," "since." This is truly colloquial and is found in early Latin. — **vobis**: the repetition in this speech of the pronouns of the second person is very marked. It serves to give the impression of the unselfishness of the speaker.

5. *Of this there is some hope, only on condition that you, as vanquished, listen to the terms of peace which Hannibal as conqueror offers you.* The order of the Latin, *Hannibal victor before vos victi audietis* is more considerate of their wounded pride. — **eam**: i.e. *pacem*. — **victor**: corresponds to *victi*.

6. In stating the terms Alorcus sets off gain in each case against a loss. The enumeration closes as it opened with a reference to the contrast between their own position and that of Hannibal, as shown in the words *victor hostis* against *fortuna vestra*. — **urbem . . . dirutam, captam habet**: note the use of the verb *habeo* with the participle and the effect of continuance produced, as in *fessum habebat*, Chap. 11. 3.

7. **ab Sagunto**: note again the preposition with the name of the town.

8. **quamquam**: there is no hesitation in recognizing the severity of the terms. — **equidem**: *I for my part do not despair of some modification in these terms when he has secured control of everything.*

9. **sed**: set off against *equidem*. — **censeo**: the technical word to the Roman of giving a decision. *Nevertheless I maintain that you should in preference accept these terms rather than allow yourself to be slain and your wives and children dragged into slavery according to the rights of war, and that in your very presence.* — **potius quam . . . sinatis**: for mood, see G. 644. 3; H.B. 507. 4. d.

Chapter 14.

THE FALL OF SAGUNTUM

In the narrative of the fall of the city Livy follows the order of events. The people in general come together to hear the words of Alorcus and the gathering becomes an assembly of the people.

The chief men of the state, not waiting for the reply, gathered the gold, both public and private, and threw themselves with it into the fire. Just at that time a tower fell and the Carthaginians rush in and make known to Hannibal that the defenders have disappeared. Hannibal at once takes the city.

The first sentence indicates that the Saguntines thought there was a truce, and partially if not entirely abandoned the walls. If Hannibal knew and was party to the act of Alorcus, he must have broken faith by this surprise. Livy, however, plainly implies that Hannibal was not aware until informed by those near the walls, that the defenders had departed, and when he learns of this occurrence he takes advantage of the unexpected. If Hannibal had broken faith, Livy would certainly have made mention of it. The sentence *turris diu quassata* . . . indicates that Livy did not consider any interruption in the progress of the siege.

1. *circumfusa multitudine*: abl. abs. This act led to the *concilium permixtum*. The breaking up of the *concilium* was accomplished by the extraordinary frenzy of the leading men, who as friends of Rome knew what doom awaited them. — *priusquam* . . . *daretur*: why is the subjunctive used? — *ex publico privatoque*: this expression means "from public buildings and private abodes." Render however — *all the gold and silver belonging to the state and to private individuals, they collected in the forum and threw into a fire hastily lighted for this purpose (ad id), and many threw themselves also into the flames (eodem)*. — *plerique*: this partially corrects the broader statement *primores*, by partitive apposition. It is due to the exigencies of the sentence and is simply an indication that Livy writes as he thinks.

2. *tumultus*: another uproar. — *perque ruinam eius*: and when through the breach made by this (fall) a cohort of the Carthaginians made an assault and gave the signal to the general that the city of the enemy was deserted of its customary guards and sentinels, Hannibal thinking that when such an opportunity was at hand, he should not delay, etc. — *cohors*: a Roman technical term used here of a body of men of the Carthaginian army.

3. *momento*: the full expressions *momento temporis* and *momento horae* are also used by Livy. — *crudele*: it appears that Livy has changed his thought in closing his sentence, introducing the idea of

cognitum est, so that writing simply as he thought, he has actually left *crudele* without its verb. Hence we should supply *fuit*, which the sentence demands. Some regard *crudele* as attributive to *imperium* and *necessarium* as predicate and give *ceterum* the force of *tamen*.

4. *cui*: note the usual construction with the impersonal passive *parci*. — *enim*: shows that this is the explanation of the preceding. It was this Livy had in mind when he wrote *cognitum est*. — *ante*: to be taken with *quam*, from which it is regularly separated when followed, as here, by the participle and when the principal clause is negative. We know that the city was not entirely destroyed and that a remnant of the inhabitants survived. For Livy tells us that it was taken by the Romans and the former inhabitants were restored (24. 42. 10 and 22. 22. 4).

Chapter 15.

DISPOSITION OF THE BOOTY. CHRONOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES

1. *ingenti praeda*: this is inconsistent with the previous account of the destruction of things of value, and Livy explains by means of the *quamquam* clauses. — *discrimen*: cf. Hannibal's order, Chap. 14. 3. — *captivi*: as they belonged to the soldiers, they did not enter into the estimate of public acquisition. It was a Roman custom to place the money from the sale of prisoners in the public treasury. — *corrupta erant*: the pluperfect tense indicates a time prior to that of *redactum esse*.

2. *constat*: it is agreed that a large amount of money was realized.

3. The remaining sections of this chapter deal with chronological difficulties occasioned by the statement in Chap. 6. 3 that P. Cornelius Scipio and Ti. Sempronius Longus were consuls — *i.e.* that it was in 218 B.C. — when envoys were sent to Rome to ask for aid before the siege. Livy perceives the difficulty when he combines eight months of the siege with the time of wintering at New Carthage and the five months' journey of Hannibal into Italy followed by the battles of the Ticinus and the Trebia. Either these events required shorter periods or the beginning of the siege was considerably earlier or the battle at the Trebia occurred

in the following consulship, that of Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius (217 B.C.). Livy declares the last suggestion impossible and leaves us to choose from the other two; but from Chap. 30. 9 it is evident that he believed the siege required eight months. The facts are that Hannibal besieged Saguntum in the consulship of M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus, 219 B.C. Cornelius and Sempronius were consuls after March 15, 218, and the battle of Trebia was fought in this consulship. — *quam*: for *postquam*; *post* is omitted in Livy after an ordinal (Lease). — *quidam*: notably Polybius 3. 17. If Livy had consistently followed Polybius, he would have avoided trouble. — *Carthagine*: *i.e.* *Nova Carthagine*. — *scripsere*: Livy prefers this form in his earlier books but shows a growing preference for the forms in *-erunt*, after the seventh book and as his work progresses (Lease, *Livy*, p. xxxii).

4. *Ad Ticinum*: the account of this battle is given in Chap. 45, that of the Trebia in Chaps. 55, 56.

6. *excessisse*: *cannot have fallen*. — *pugna ad Trebiam*: *sc. facta*. Livy is fond of joining the prepositional phrase directly to the noun. This is another instance of a preference for the condensed expression. — *quia*: the historian gives as a reason for the necessity of assigning the battle of the Trebia to 218, the supervision of the election of the consuls of 217 by Sempronius, who went to Rome for this purpose after the battle of the Trebia. So as to identify this election beyond mistake he names two incidents, the entrance of Flaminius upon his consulship at Ariminum and not at Rome (Chap. 63. 2), and the return of Sempronius to the army (Chap. 57. 4). We should expect *quia C. Flaminius . . . qui Arimini consulatum iniit*.

Chapter 16.

EXCITEMENT IN ROME

1. *legati*: envoys sent to Saguntum and thence to Carthage as described in Chaps. 6. 4 and 9. 3. *It was almost at one and the same time that the envoys, who had returned from Carthage, announced at Rome how everything looked like war, and that the downfall of Saguntum was reported*. The order in the statement of these facts and the use of *fere* indicate that the return of the envoys took place

before the destruction of Saguntum. This is consistent with Appian, *B. H.*, 6. 2. 11.

2. **tantusque**: Livy names five emotions (*motibus animi*) connecting them by *que . . . et . . . et . . . que*. The fifth prevails and leads to dismay. — **pudor . . . auxilii**: shame at not having given aid. — **de summa rerum**: the supreme interests of the state. — **ad portas**: the expression *Hannibal ad portas* became proverbial. See 23. 16. 1 and Cicero, *de Finibus*, 4. 9. 22. — **velut si . . . esset**: goes closely with *metus*. — **trepidarent**: i.e. *cepit ut trepidarent*: so that distracted by these emotions, felt simultaneously, they were in a state of confusion and did not engage in deliberations.

3. **nam**: introduces infinitive clauses *congressum esse, fuisse*, etc., depending on a verb of saying implied in the preceding sentence. — **desidem . . . imbellem**: slothful and unwarlike.

4. **Sardos Corsosque**: they were subdued in 234 B.C. The Histri and the Illyri had annoyed the Romans by their piratical expeditions and had been finally restrained before the opening of the Second Punic War. Note the use of the copula *que* closely connecting Sardos and Corsos and *atque* joining Histros and Illyrios and indicating that the latter was the more important word. — **cum Gallis**: Livy for his own purpose speaks of the contests with the Gauls as insignificant, although Rome was in serious danger at times (228 B.C.) from the inhabitants of what was later Cisalpine Gaul. — **tumultuatum**: skirmishing, rather than actual warfare. *Tumultus* is a term for a war not formally declared. This section is an explanation of that part of the preceding sentence which refers to Rome. The first part of the sentence is elaborated in § 5 and § 6, so that the arrangement is chiasmic.

5. **trium et viginti**: the period between the two Punic Wars, 241–218 B.C. — **excitos**: which they had persuaded to come.

6. **cum orbe terrarum**: a grandiloquent expression suitable for closing the chapter. — **ac pro moenibus**: and (above all) before the walls of Rome. Livy writes of Rome as if it had already attained a preëminent position in the days of Hannibal. The *provinciae* named in Chap. 17. 1 indicate that the Romans at this time did not expect the war to be fought in Italy.

Chapter 17.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

1. **Nominatae**: *the provinces to be assigned to the consuls had already been designated.* The senate each year decided upon the departments or provinces which should be assigned to the consuls, without specifying which should fall to either. This was done either before or after the election. The Lex Sempronia, 123 B.C., required that this designation should take place before the election. After the election the consuls selected their departments by mutual agreement or cast lots for them. — **iam antea**: *already before this time.* — **tum**: *at this time they were directed to draw lots for them, i.e. in the spring of 218 B.C.*

2. **socium**: a form of the genitive which is found in numerical and technical expressions. The usual form is employed below. — **ipsis**: *i.e. to the consuls.*

3. The numbers here show that there were 4000 infantry and 300 cavalry in each legion. — **quattuor milia**: *as mille is the adjective and milia the noun we must understand equitum here from the equites.* — **quinqueremes**: defined as *naves longae* in § 5. — **celoces**: light and swift galleys.

4. **Latum inde ad populum**: *the matter was referred to the people as to whether it was their will and command that war should be declared.* — **vellent iuberent**: the actual words were (*rogo vos velitis iubeatis*). The lack of the connective is due to the formulaic character of the expression.

5. **ea**: refers to *legiones* but agrees as usual with the predicate noun.

6. **transmissurus**: future participle expressing purpose as *futuro* in Chap. 4. 10.

7. **et ipse**: *et = etiam.* L. Manlius the praetor as well as the consul. *Et* with force of *etiam* occurs rarely in Cicero but is common in Livy. G. 478, N. 2.

8. **cum suo iusto equitatu**: *with their regular complement of cavalry.*

9. **Gallia provincia**: *the department of Gaul.* — **eodem versa**: *intended for the same object.* *Eodem* is defined by *in Punicum*

bellum; versa, neut. plur., agrees with *legiones, milia, equites*, and *Romanos*.

Chapter 18.

DECLARATION OF WAR

1. The chapter opens with the sending of the second embassy from Rome and closes with the formal and tragic declaration of war as a climax. The first embassy had bluntly demanded the surrender of Hannibal. This embassy suggests the question of responsibility for the siege of Saguntum, since any reply will lead appropriately to a declaration of war. This method of approach is therefore *verbis lenior* but *re asperior*. The argument of the speaker runs as follows. We do not recognize the question of responsibility as pertinent, for that rests with the country concerned. If we assume, however, with you that the question of the responsibility of the general is pertinent, you did not recognize the authority of Lutatius in treaty-making. Therefore we should not be held for the action of Hasdrubal when making stipulations as to Saguntum.—*legatos*: the framework of the sentence is *legatos . . . mittunt ad percunctandos . . . et . . . ut indicerent*. Note the two ways of expressing purpose.—*publicone consilio*: on the authority of the state. This phrase occurs five times in the chapter, and as equivalents Livy uses *nostro arbitrio, ex auctoritate patrum . . . populi iussu*. The other side is expressed by *suo consilio, privato consilio, suo arbitrio, sua sponte*.

2. *factum (esse)*: should say in defense that it was done. The infinitive depends upon *defenderent* as upon a verb of saying.

4. *praeceps*: *peremptory*.—*et prior*: even your former embassy. Polybius does not mention an embassy during the siege, but in 3. 20. 8 declares that at this time the surrender of Hannibal was demanded on pain of war. Livy has apparently followed different authorities in making up his story. He certainly has made the account very effective.—*tamquam oppugnantem*: on the ground that he was besieging. G. 602. 3, 4; 666 N.—*cum . . . deposcebatis*: this is the explicative *cum* with the indicative, which is used because the action of the two verbs is simultaneous.—*adhuc*: so far.—*verbis lenior, re asperior*: milder in language but more cruel in purport. Note adversative *asyndeton*.

6. *censeam*: *I am inclined to think*. The technical senatorial word is put in the subjunctive to increase the irony by apparent modesty.

7. *Nostra . . . est*: this sentence is involved first by reason of the addition of *animadversio*, which is parenthetical and interrupts the thought from *quaestio* to *quid . . . fecerit*, and by the consequent insertion of *in civem nostrum* with *animadversio*. *It is our business to consider the question as to what our citizen has done on his own or on our authority and to us belongs the consequent punishment*. *Quaestio* determines the form of the dependent sentence, but *animadversio* that of the reference to "our fellow-citizen."

8. *foedus . . . a C. Lutatio*: this is the treaty of 241 B.C. at the close of the First Punic War. — *caveretur*: *provision was made*.

9. *At enim*: *but you will say*. This phrase regularly presents the supposed suggestion of the opponent, which is introduced so as to be controverted. — *cum Hasdrubale*: this treaty, according to Livy, contained a special clause in regard to Saguntum. See Chap. 2. 7 and note. — *excipiuntur*: *especially mentioned*, i.e. apart from the body of the treaty, as the word indicates.

10. *foedus*: this is the antecedent of *quod* and is incorporated in the relative sentence. Translate as if the Latin read *Vos enim . . . negastis vos eo (fodere) teneri quod*, etc. — *aliud foedus*: see Introduction, p. xiii.

11. *ne . . . quidem*: *neither*. This continues the negation, taking the place of *nec*.

12. *proinde*: *accordingly then*. This particle regularly introduces an exhortation after a logical presentation of facts. — *Romanus*: Fabius Maximus afterwards known as Cunctator. — *sinu ex toga facto*: *making a bend or fold in his toga*, i.e. as if to hold something.

13. *Sub hanc vocem*: *instantly at this word*. — *daret utrum vellet*: the actual words were *da utrum vis*.

14. *iterum sinu effuso*: *letting fall his toga again*. *Iterum* merely indicates that it was the second move or the act of restoring to original conditions.

Chapter 19.

CONSIDERATION OF THE TREATIES. ROMAN ENVOYS IN SPAIN

1. **Haec derecta percunctatio**: *this straightforward inquiry and declaration of war*. The *percunctatio* is suggested in Chap. 18. 3, but the *denuntiatio* is described in Chap. 18. 13, 14. — **verbis disceptare**: *to debate*. This is opposed to *armis disceptare* implied as likely to follow *denuntiatio*. — **excisa**: supply *urbe* in apposition to *Sagunto*, or we may regard *Sagunto* as feminine from a nom. *Saguntus*.

2. **Nam**: this sentence with its elaborate explanation makes clear and justifies the position of the Romans which might otherwise have been misunderstood, as they had made no reply. — **quid**: *in what respect was the treaty of Hasdrubal to be compared with the former treaty of Lutatius which was changed?* — **esset**: this is an unreal condition. Nevertheless, if *si . . . res sit, quid . . . comparandum est* were thrown into past time, the form would be the same as that used here. G. 596. 2; A. 516. 2. b, f. For *comparandum erat*, G. 597. 3 a; A. 517. b.

3. **ratum fore**: this infinitive is due to the verb of saying implied in *additum esset*. *Censuisset* stands for the fut. perf. indicative, which was the form in the treaty. — **in Lutati foedere**: opposed to *in Hasdrubalis foedere* as indicated by the adversative asyndeton. — **fuerit**: this word and *comprobatum sit* show a change in sequence due to the author's desire to represent the question as a personal observation made by the writer at his time. — **mutaretur**: in result clauses the imperfect often follows the pure perfect. G. 513. REM.

4. **quamquam**: corrective, *and yet*. — **etsi . . . staretur**: *even if they should stand by the first treaty*. — **staretur**: this is unreal condition and as such is due to the author's rhetorical purpose. — **cautum erat**: the mood is due to the actual existence of the provision, no matter whether they stood by the treaty or not. If, however, *si priore foedere stetur, satis cautum est* should be transferred to past time, we should find the forms as here given. There is an ellipsis in the sentence. *If they stood by the former treaty, (it would make no difference) for provision had already been made*. — **iis qui tunc essent**: *those existing*, quoted indirectly for *iis*

qui nunc sunt; so also *ne qui postea adsumerentur* for *ne qui postea adsumantur*.

5. *et cum . . . liceret*: Livy passes directly from the statement of the omission from the treaty of a preventing clause to the assumption that as such was lacking it was permitted to take new allies. — *censeret*: the question is rhetorical, but the mood is determined by the mood of the answer which would be potential subjunctive and negative. G. 466. The tense is due to the conception of its being asked in past time. — *aut ob nulla quemquam*: or that no one on account of any. — *tantum ne*: rare for *modo ne*, so a proviso but cast in past time, hence *sollicitarentur* and *recipe-rentur*. In considering the merits of the question it must be conceded that if the Romans made an alliance with Saguntum when they saw that the Carthaginians were aiming at that city, they could hardly expect the terms of the treaty to apply to the people of Saguntum as allies. Neumann in *Punische Kriegen*, 26. 5, has suggested that if the Carthaginians had made alliance with the Insubres, Rome would by no means have considered that she had violated the treaty of 241 B.C. if she followed up the conquest of the Boii by that of the Insubres.

6. *ab Carthagine*: note the use of the preposition as in Chap. 9. 3. — *sicut imperatum erat*: in accordance with the instructions given them at Rome. — *ut adirent civitates ut*: the second *ut* is subordinate to the first.

7. *quia taedebat (eos)*: this clause goes with *erexerunt*.

9. *Quae verecundia est*: what sense of shame do you have, Romans, that you demand that we should prefer an alliance with you rather than with the Carthaginians?

10. *Ibi quaeratis censeo*: seek your allies in that place, I suggest, where, etc. *Quaeratis* is independent in construction of *censeo*, which is parenthetical. — *Hispanis populis*, etc.: the ruins of Saguntum will be a warning, as conspicuous as it is mournful, not to trust in the fidelity and alliance of the Romans.

Chapter 20.

ROMAN ENVOYS IN GAUL

1. *iis*: the Gauls, as suggested by *Galliam* above. Among this people they beheld a strange and terrifying spectacle. — *armati*: the

Romans of Livy's day had forgotten the military character of their early comitia. — **mos gentis erat**: with *mos* Livy regularly has the genitive when the noun is collective; words denoting persons and nations, and demonstrative and personal pronouns, are in the dative.

2. **extollentes**: supply *Romani legati*. — **Poeni . . . inferenti** — *si inferret*.

3. **cum fremitu**: *boisterous*, in the attributive position between *tantus* and *risus*.

4. **censere**: in apposition to *postulatio*, and explained by *ipso id avertere . . . obicere*. — **ne . . . transmittant**: negative purpose after *avertere*. Note that *ipsos* stands for *Gallos*, as *Galli* appears in the dependent cause which comes first. *So foolish and impertinent a request it seemed to suggest that the Gauls instead of allowing the war to pass into Italy should turn it upon themselves.*

5. **meritum**: a substantive.

6. **contra ea**: *on the contrary*. — **stipendium pendere**: *to pay tribute*.

7. **nec hospitale . . .**: *nor did they hear any friendly or tolerably peaceful word*.

8. **omnia**: explained by the infinitive clauses which follow. — **inquisita**: a participle = *quae socii inquisiverant*. — **cognita**: supply *sunt a Romanis*. — **illi**: Hannibal. — **subinde**: *from time to time*. — **cuius . . . est**: indicative, as parenthetical remark of the author.

9. **ita**: this word sums up all the experience of the envoys. — **satis constante fama**: *reports in general agreeing*.

Chapter 21.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE INVASION OF ITALY

The account of the preparations is arranged in three sections, of which the first deals with the spirit of the army in view of the march into Italy; the second with the general's plans and the size and disposition of his forces; the third gives the story of Hannibal's dream, which serves as a striking climax.

1. **Hannibal . . . concesserat**: the narrative is resumed from Chap. 15. 3, where the same statement is made in connection with chronological difficulties. This reference is to the *hiberna* of 219-

218. It was during this period when he thus addressed his soldiers. — **auditis**: the subject of this ablative absolute is the relative clause *quae . . . forent* and the infinitive clause *sequē . . . causam esse bellī*. — **forent**: Livy frequently uses this word as a substitute for *essem*, particularly in unreal conditions, also for the pluperfect subjunctive, which is the indirect form for the perfect indicative as here, and again when it is the indirect form for the direct *est* (21. 53. 7), and finally with a future participle where it takes the place of *essem* (22. 57. 5). It was originally equal to *futurus essem*, and Cicero has it three times in this use. Caesar does not use it.

2. **partitis**: passive use of a deponent verb. — **nihil ultra differendum**: *that there should be no further delay*.

3. **ego**: given here as set off against *vos*. — **et ipsos**: *etiam ipsos*, i.e. *you as well as I*. — **ita enim**: *for only in this way*; the explanation is in the *si* clause, which is an amplification of *in alias terras transferendum bellum*. — **bonis**: *advantages*.

4. **praedam et gloriam**: note the repetition of these words at the close of the speech but in a reverse order.

5. **commeatum**: *leave of absence*.

6. **edico adsitis**: supply *ut*, a common omission in a formal statement. — **diis bene iuvantibus**: *with the good help of the gods*. Livy is fond of such expressions; cf. *dis volentibus*, 27. 19. 5.

7. **Omnibus . . .**: *almost all appreciated the opportunity of visiting their homes, which was afforded without their asking for it, inasmuch as they were already anxious to see their kindred and looked forward to a greater longing in the time to come*.

8. **exhaustos**: *in the midst of labors whether already endured or soon to be endured*. The *aut . . . aut* is distributive only so far as it suggests an alternative in the thoughts of those concerned.

9. Hannibal, before setting out, visits the old Phoenician city, Gades, and there pays his vows — probably because of the success at Saguntum — and binds himself by new vows because of his march into Italy. — **Hercules**: the Phoenician god Melcarth. — **obligat**: i.e. *promittit se soluturum vota*. His words were *haec vota exsolvam si cetera prospere evenerint*.

10. **ab Sicilia**: *on the side of Sicily*. — **eam**: i.e. *Africa*.

11. **eo**: refers to *praesidio*; i.e. *in place of this*. — **levium armis**.

light-armed. — **mutuis pigneribus**: a sentimental explanation introduced by Livy which apparently means that they would fight better away from home, as they would have the additional incentive of a fidelity to the general cause which would be rewarded by those fighting in their home land by the protection of all that they held dear. — **velut**: introduces the figurative expression.

12. caetratos: *bearing light shields*. The *caetra* was a small wicker shield covered with leather. Polybius, 3. 33. 17, gives the same description of the Carthaginian forces and says he copied it from a brazen tablet in the promontory of Lacinium in southern Italy.

13. civitates: *i.e. of Africa*. — **eosdem et**: *to serve alike as garrison and hostages*.

Chapter 22.

SPAIN ASSIGNED TO HASDRUBAL. HANNIBAL'S VISION

1. Neque: translate by resolution, *and not*. — **id**: this repeats the idea *Hispaniam neglegendam* and has the same construction.

2. Hasdrubali: the brother of Hannibal, who afterwards, in 207, attempted to come to his aid and was defeated at the river Metaurus by Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator. — **eam, provinciam**: these are the two objects of *destinat*. *He assigns it (Spain) as his department*. — **firmat**: the object is *eam*. — **Afrorum**: elsewhere in Livy a substantive.

3. ad mille: *ad* is an adverb, as often in Livy, with numbers. It is equivalent to *fere*, "about." — **terrestris**: contrasted with *classis* in next sentence.

4. tuendae . . . orae: G. 428. R. 2; A. 504. a. N.; B. 339. 6. — **aptae**: poetical, like *aptatae*, for *paratae*.

5. Ab Gadibus: taking up the story from the first sentence of Chap. 21. 9. — **ad hiberna**: at New Carthage. — **exercitus**: genitive. Hannibal left his army in winter quarters while he went to Gades, and there, according to Livy, arranged the plans described in 20. 10-22. 5. Polybius, 3. 33, who is Livy's authority for this Carthaginian plan of campaign, assigns this to New Carthage. — **ora**: G. 403; A. 429. a; H. 420. N.; 1. 3.

6. ibi: at the Ebro. The dream was told in view of the impor-

tance of crossing the boundary between Rome and Carthage recognized by the treaty. As it thus offers an excuse, it probably has a Carthaginian origin. — *fama est*: *it is said*. — *in quiete*: *in a dream*. — *visum (esse) ab eo*: *there appeared to him*. — *iuvenem*: Cicero, *de Divinatione*, 1. 24. 48, on the authority of Coelius Antipater, declares that Hannibal dreamt that he was summoned to an assembly of the gods and was commanded to invade Italy and was provided with a guide from among the gods. — *proinde*: introduces, as an inference, the command given in the indirect form. — *sequetur*: G. 652; A. 588; B. 316. — *neque*: for *neve*. G. 543. N. 3; A. 450. N. 5; B. 282. I. e. — *deflecteret*: the amplification of this word is given in the *circumspicientem, respicientem*, which follow.

7. *secutum*: depends on *fama est*. — *cura*: ablative. *By innate curiosity*. — *ducem*: it is noticeable that he paid his vows to Hercules (21. 9) and in crossing the Alps was said to be imitating Hercules (41. 8). It is also worthy of consideration that Livy inserts a story which suggests that Hannibal was carrying out the will of Jupiter. — *nequivisse*: goes back to *fama est* as *vidisse* and *audisse*.

8. *tum vidisse*: *then he saw behind him a dragon of wondrous size which was moving forward with fearful destruction of trees and bushes, and afterward there appeared a cloud and thunder*. — *ea moles*: *the monster*.

9. *quidve prodigii*: *what the portent indicated*. The dragon stood for war, the cloud for the destruction which follows in its train.

Chapters 23, 24.

MARCH TO THE PYRENEES

1. *qua*: *i.e.* along the route by which he intended to lead his army. — *transitus*: Livy uses *fauces* and *saltus* for passes in this same chapter.

2. *subegit*: Polybius tells us that Hannibal crossed the Ebro with 102,000 men, but that this number was diminished to 59,000 when he reached the Pyrenees. Of the 43,000 thus lacking he had given 11,000 to Hanno and allowed 10,000 to leave, so that 22,000 must have been sacrificed in this march to the Pyrenees.

3. *obtinendae regionis*: genitive of purpose depending on *praesidium*. — *milia peditum*: note, however, *mille equites*.

4. *per barbaros*: *i.e.* the auxiliary troops in Hannibal's army. — *iter averterunt*: *desert*.

5. *anceps*: *periculosum*.

6. *quoque*: *i.e.* as well as the seven thousand. — *supra*: the object of *remisit* is *supra septem milia*.

Chapter 24.

1. *Pyrenaeum*: *sc. saltum*. — *Iliberri*: indeclinable here with *oppidum*, but declined below where *oppidum* is omitted. §§ 3, 5.

2. *Ruscino*: this is retained in the modern name, *la Tour de Roussillon*. — *aliquot populi*: brings up the subject *Galli* with which it is in apposition.

3. *velle*: depends on verb of saying suggested in *oratores misit*. — *semet ipsum*: *he wished in person to have an interview with them*. This is the first part of the indirect sentence; the second part is (*to bring this about*) *they might either come nearer Iliberri or he would go to Ruscino so that they might meet more easily*. Note the varied construction of indirect discourse, *accederent* representing *accedite* and *processurum esse* standing for the statement *procedam*. — *et*: this prevents abruptness. — *vel . . . vel*: indicates a free choice, but *laetum* (gladly) and *nec cunctanter* (without hesitation) point to a preference for the first.

4. *per nuntios*: set off against the interview implied in what follows; cf. *oratores* above. — *haec*: *sc. egit*.

5. *ut vero*: "*But when*," as usual introducing a statement which the historian regards as final, so here in the account of negotiations. Hannibal personally settles the matter. — *Poenum*: Hannibal. — *cum bona pace*: a stereotyped expression meaning *with entire friendliness*. — *transmiserunt*: *allowed to pass*.

Chapter 25.

REVOLT OF CISALPINE GAUL

1. *In Italiam*: placed in an important position because of the change of scene from Spain to Italy. It is defined more exactly

by *Romam*. Into Italy no other report was brought than that carried to Rome by the envoys of the citizens of Massilia. This chapter is a continuation of the description in Chap. 20. — **Massiliensium**: these old friends of the Romans kept them informed of the movements of the Carthaginians. — **cum**: the so-called *cum inversum*, with the indicative. G. 581, A. 325, b. B. 288, 1.

2. **Boi**: located between the Po and the Apennines were conquered in 224 B.C. The Insubres north of the Po and east of the river Ticinum near Milan were conquered in 222 B.C. — **nec tum ob veteres iras**: not so much on account of old hatred as because they were annoyed at the recent (218) establishment of colonies at *Placentia* — modern Piacenza (southbank) — and at *Cremona* (northbank). — **deductas**: to found a colony is *colonian deducere*, therefore this is the technical expression. — **nuper**: with *deductas*.

3. **in eum ipsum agrum**: burst into the territory in question. — **agrestis multitudo**: the colonists already located in the land. — **moenibus**: ablative with *diffisi*.

4. **triumviri**: these were the commissioners who in establishing the colony measured and assigned the land.

5. **Mutinae**: modern Modena, given here in place of the simple adverb for exactness.

6. **rudis**: a people ignorant of the science of assaulting towns. The use of this adjective with *ad* and accusative is poetic. The genitive is more common. — **eadem**: and likewise sluggish in carrying on military operations. — **coeptum**: *scl. est.* Note how freely Livy disregards the verb *sum* in this chapter. *Pretended negotiations for peace were begun.* — **legati**: Livy evidently believed that the envoys and not the commissioners were attacked. Attacking the former would be more treacherous.

7. **obsides**: hostages held by the Romans after the war in 221 B.C.

8. **L. Manlius**: named in Chap. 17. 7 as in charge of Cisalpine Gaul. — **ad**: towards.

9. **tunc**: in those days as opposed to Livy's time. — **plerisque (locis) incultis**: and so most of the country was wild. Note the use of the adjective as a noun. — **inexplorato**: the use of ablative absolute in one word; cf. *inauspicato* and *intestato*. This is a development of the absolute construction and occurs frequently

in Livy and later writers, but is rare in Cicero. Caesar has *tripartito* and *consulto*, which are adverbs arising from this construction.

11. *dum . . . ducebatur*: *as long as*, complete coextension. G. 569.

13. *Gallis*. . . : note the chiasmus. — *vicum*: general usage would call for the preposition. G. 337. R. 6; A. 428. j; H.B. 452. — *Tannetum*: a village by name Tanneto exists to-day near Regium Lepidi, *i.e.* Reggio. This may be the town referred to, although it is not *propinquum Pado*, as Livy says, but about ten miles south of the Po. — *contendere*: the perfect indicative.

14. *ad tempus*: *sc. facto*. Livy thus economizes in the use of words, as in 15. 6 n., *pugna ad Trebiam*, where *facta* or *commissa* is supplied. — *Brixianorum*: the people of Brixia, modern Brescia.

Chapter 26.

SCIPIO AND HANNIBAL AT THE RHONE

1. *tumultus*: *rebellion*. The first two sections of this chapter form a summary to the description of the revolt of the Cisalpine Gauls just given. — *Gallico*: *sc. bello*.

2. *praetorem*: C. Atilius, praetor urbanus, is here directed to bear aid to L. Manlius, the other praetor. Read in this connection Chap. 17. It is seen that the preparations are made for six legions, two are for L. Cornelius Scipio, one consul, two for L. Manlius, the praetor for service in Gaul, and two are for Ti. Sempronius Longus, the other consul. — *una legione*: if, as we should expect, *conscriptis* agrees with both *legione* and *militibus*, this is a new legion just enrolled, in addition to those referred to above. If *conscriptis* agrees with *militibus* alone and the *una legio* is one of those assigned to P. Cornelius and sent now to the praetor, L. Manlius, then the *legio* referred to in § 3 is the new one, the seventh, which takes the place of that with L. Cornelius and now sent to L. Manlius. The latter view is consistent with the statement of Polybius, 3. 40, that a legion assigned to Scipio was sent to L. Manlius; also, if Livy is explicit in using *nova* in § 3, should we not expect him to use *nova* with *una legione* in § 2, if he did not refer

to one of the legions already enrolled? — **consule**: Scipio. — **qui — et is**, Atilius.

3. et: there are two forces referred to, one to operate in Gaul, the other against Hannibal directly. The *et* joins the accounts of the two forces. The second account ends at § 6, where the author returns again to the doings of Hannibal. — **P. Cornelius**: Scipio. — **eius**: the *una legio* mentioned in § 2. — **Ligurumque**: depends on *montes*, as shown by *que et*. — **ab urbe**: starting from the mouth of the Tiber and sailing north, they pass Etruria, then the region about Genoa (Ligures), then the shore between the Alps and the Rhone (Salvies), — the section in which Massilia was located. — **proximum**: that is, to Italy.

4. pluribus: sc. *ostiis*.

5. ut: *when*. — **quoque**: *i.e.* as well as the Pyrenees. — **occurreret**: represents *quoniam . . . occurram*.

6. colunt: regularly transitive until Livy, so here absolute and equal to *incolunt*, *i.e.* they have their dwellings. — **circa utramque ripam**: on both banks of the Rhone. As *circa* has the meaning of "on both sides" the expression is pleonastic. — **ceteriore**: in the country nearer to him, so from Hannibal's point of view. — **suis**: neuter. — **ulteriorem**: further.

7. eorum ipsorum: *Volcarum*. Supply *illos*, the antecedent of *quos*, for the genitive is partitive. — **simul . . . simul**: correlative conjunctions which take the place of *et . . . et*, like the Greek *ἀμα μὲν . . . ἀμα δέ*. . . . common in Livy, but is not found in Cicero and only once in Caesar. — **et ipsi**: for *et* instead of *etiam*, see G. 478. 2. This expression is given an important position as indicating the eagerness with which they aided Hannibal in moving on because of the inconvenience and suffering the presence of his army occasioned.

8. vis navium lintriumque: number of large and small boats. — **temere paratarum**: rudely constructed for use near by. — **alias**: *lintres*. — **incohantes**: setting the example.

9. cavabant: *i.e.* *cavando faciebant*. — **alveos**: shapeless dug-outs. — **dummodo . . . curantes**: entirely satisfied if they could float.

Chapters 27, 28.

HANNIBAL CROSSES THE RHONE

1. **omnibus**: sc. *rebus*. Livy follows Sallust in freely omitting the noun with *omnis*. — **terrebant**: *Hannibalem* is the object, but translate, *Hannibal and his troops were menaced by the enemy, both infantry and cavalry, who held all the opposite bank*. — **equites virique**: appositive to *hostes*, hence *equites*, not *equi*. *viri* is for *pedites*, but in § 5 in association with *equi* it means the men who ride the horses.

2. **averteret**: Hannibal is subject. *To turn away their attention*. — **adverso flumine**: *up the river*, so *secundo flumine*, *down the river*, see *secunda aqua*, Chap. 28. 7. — **iter unius diei**: *one day's journey*. Note cognate accusative.

3. **et . . . circumducere**: *and crossing the river at the earliest moment and as stealthily as possible, to make a circuit so as to fall upon the rear of the enemy at the right time*. — **cum opus facto sit**: an old idiomatic phrase introduced into prose by Sallust and adopted by Livy. G. 437, note. A. 292 b.

4. **duces**: *guides*. — **edocent**: the infinitive depends on this word. — **supra**: *up the river*. — **insulae**: dative with *circumfusum*. — **amnem**: the river is described as flowing around an island. Where it divided, it was broader and so more shallow (*eoque minus alto alveo*) thus affording a passage. — **que**: connects *latiore* and *minus alto alveo*, which is an ablative of description with *amnem*. — **dividebatur**: explanatory and parenthetical, so indicative, G. 630 R.; A. 335. 6.

5. **Hispani . . . tranavere**: The Spaniards threw their garments on the inflated skins and then, placing their shields above these and reclining on their shields, swam across the river. — **vestimentis**: ablative, but *caetris* is dative.

6. **alius exercitus**: *the rest of the army*. — **iunctis**: this word describes the construction of the rafts and also states the fact — *on rafts which they had made by framing them of logs*. Cf. the expression *pontem iungere* which stands for *iungendo pontem facere*. — **operis labore**: the first is the achievement, the second is the toil required in accomplishing the first.

7. **ex composito**: according to agreement. This phrase is very familiar in Livy and is read here for the Ms. *loco prodito*, and for the uncertain *loco edito* commonly adopted. — **fumo**: ablative of means.

8. **fere**: opposed to *pars magna*. The cavalry in general had larger boats because of the horses. This was necessary only in a few cases, for many of the horses swam. See § 9. — **adversi . . . fluminis**: the force of the current. — **parte superiore**: crossing over higher up the river.

9. **nantes**: agrees with the collective *pars magna* which has a plural verb.

Chapter 28.

1. **Galli occursant**: Livy opens the chapter with a reference to the scene on the bank described at the beginning of Chapter 27, and to the crossing just portrayed. He does this so as to introduce the account of the manoeuvre of the Carthaginians under Hanno who now attacked the enemies' rear.

2. **et ex adverso**: the *et* corresponds to the *et* before *iam*. The second *et* is not in the Mss. but is supplied by Riemann, for otherwise *et ex adverso* would lack the corresponding phrase, *et . . . ab tergo* which we expect. Those following the Mss. begin a new sentence with *iam* and declare that Livy changed the entire phraseology after writing *et ex adverso*. — **traicientes**: agrees with *suos*.

4. **utroque . . . conati**: endeavoring to make an attack against both. — **postquam**: with the indicative. G. 562.

5. Livy first declares that there were various schemes for taking the elephants across, but corrects himself by saying that at least the accounts differ. He then gives two methods but rejects the first, that of Coelius Antipater, and supports the theory of Polybius. — **refugientem nantem**: both of these agree with *rectorem* understood. This is the manuscript reading and although the lack of connective may seem harsh, yet the proposed alternative readings are less satisfactory. Other suggestions are *refugientem et in aqua natantem* and *sequeretur, nantem* where *nantem* must agree with *elephantum* although Livy apparently did not believe elephants could swim, see § 12, and Pliny, *N.H.* 828; also *nando* or

nans sequeretur. — *ut*: *when*. — *destitueret vadum*: an interesting way of saying that the elephant lost his footing. The subjunctive is iterative, so also *agerentur*, *raperentur* in § 10 and *fecisset* in § 11. G. 567. n; A. 518. c; H. B. 540.

6. *ceterum*: *It is, however, more generally believed that they were taken over on rafts*. — *id*: as subject of *foret* means this method as proposed, *i.e.* taking over on rafts, but as subject of *est* it means the method as actually followed and described. — *ut . . . ita*: *as . . . so*. — *ante rem*: is the protasis of the condition of which *oret* is the apodosis, and so is equivalent to *si res nondum facta esset*. — *ad fidem pronius est*: *is more worthy of belief*.

7. *parte*: with *reliatam* is the ablative of prevented separation. G. 385, note 1. The preposition is regularly omitted with *parte* when it is modified by an adjective. — *parte superiore ripae*: farther up the stream or higher up on the bank. Polybius says "fastened to trees."

Chapter 29.

THE FIRST SKIRMISH

1. *dum . . . traiciuntur*: incomplete coextension so present indicative. G. 570; A. 556.

2. *ut ante dictum est*: see Chaps. 17. 5 and 26. 5. — *atrocius quam pro*: possibly in imitation of the Greek ἡ κάρᾱ. Livy expresses disproportion by the comparative with *quam pro*, rather than by the more simple positive with *pro*, — as *atrox pro numero*.

3. *amplius ducenti*: note the construction following *amplius*. G. 296. R. 4; A. 407. c; H. B. 416. d. — *vulnera*: this word and *caedes* stand for *vulneratos* and *caesi*. *There were many wounded, and the slain on both sides were about equal, and only the flight and terror of the Numidians gave the victory to the Romans, now thoroughly worn out*. — *que et*: this is used by Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus, but not by Caesar and Cicero. It here seems to call attention to the *fuga*.

4. *principium*: *This which was at once (simul) the beginning and omen of the war portended on the one hand a prosperous outcome of the entire contest, but nevertheless a victory for the Romans by no means bloodless and one that would follow a doubtful struggle*.

5. *ut = ubi*. — *ad utrumque . . . sui*: an interchange for *ad suum utrique*. G. 693. — *nec = et non*, corresponds to *et* before *Hannibalem*. — *sententia stare*: the same idiom is found in Chap. 30. 1, with a different construction, order, and emphasis.

6. *Hannibalem*: For proper balance we should expect a sentence with *Hannibal* as the subject and *avertitur* as the verb. *And Hannibal, uncertain whether he should continue the journey into Italy which he had undertaken or join battle with that Roman army which should first meet him, is turned aside from the conflict at hand by the arrival of the envoys.* — *cum eo*: note the incorporation of *Romanus exercitus* in the relative sentence. — *integro bello*: *with the full strength of his army*. This is explained immediately by *ante libatis viribus*, i.e. *with forces unimpaired*.

7. *multitudo*: the majority of the soldiers, here opposed to *Hannibal*. — *timebat*: implies an uncalled-for and foolish fear, *metuebat*, suggests a natural and reasonable alarm. — *superioris*: the First Punic War. — *fama*: ablative. — *utique*: *at any rate*. — *inexpertis*: dative.

Chapter 30.

HANNIBAL'S ADDRESS

This speech is an excellent illustration of Livy's power as a rhetorician and is well worth careful study. The opening sentence represents Hannibal as swaying the minds of the soldiers by reproof, *castigando*, and by encouragement, *cohortando*. This is the outline of the chapter, for at first his words are reproachful, tempered to be sure by complimentary references to their achievements. Afterward he encourages them by belittling the difficulty of crossing the Alps, which form after all only a preliminary obstacle, for beyond is Rome, the great object of achievement. This is the climax and the line of thought is as follows: As the Alps have been crossed by others, so they may be crossed by the Carthaginians who have surmounted other difficulties; and as Rome has been taken by the Gauls, so it may be taken by the Carthaginians who had captured Saguntum.

1. *ipsi*: emphatic and opposed to "his soldiers," *multitudo*, above. *He* was firmly resolved. — *pergere*: G. 423. 2. 2. — *versat animos*: explained by *castigando adhortandoque*.

2. **mirari**: the infinitive depends on *versat animos* which also controls the indirect discourse construction of the remainder of the chapter. — **pectora**: Cicero would have used the preposition *in*, but Vergil and Livy have the simple accusative with this verb. — **per tot annos**: the outline of the sentence is — *vincentis . . . stipendia facere neque . . . excessisse antequam . . . gentesque et terrae Carthaginiensium essent*. Note the present *facere* as indicating the action unfinished, and compare *excessisse*. — **duo**: the Mediterranean and Atlantic. — **diversa**: here *distant* like *remotus*, cf. Vergil's *litus diversum*.

3. **indignatos**: agrees with *eos*, subject of *traiecisce*. — **quicumque**: rhetorical exaggeration, cf. Chap. 44. 4. In the speech of Hanno, Chap. 10. 11-13, the Romans are said to have demanded Hannibal alone, but Polybius 3. 20. 8 says that Hannibal and his councillors were demanded. — **obsedissent**: preferred to *expugnassent* because the first embassy came during the siege. — **liberandumque orbem**: anachronism, — Livy is thinking of his own time.

4. **Tum**: when they crossed the Ebro. — **id**: the journey. — **visum**: i.e. *visum esse*, depending on *versat animos*.

5. **occasu**: from west to east. Note the singular of *occasu* and the plural of *exortus*. The latter, a plural of instances, is poetic. — **emensam**: deponent used passively as in Vergil; cf. *expertus*, Chap. 1. 2; *depopulatus*, 51. 4; and *auspicato*, 63. 9. — **postquam**: the sentence outline is *partem emensam cernant . . . Pyrenaeum saltum superatum . . . Rhodanum . . . traiectum*, (postquam) *in conspectu Alpīs habeant, fatigatos subsistere*. — **Italiae sit**: is a part of Italy.

6. **credentes**: agrees with the subject of *subsistere*, so that the question is not expressed separately and assumes an abrupt form for a rhetorical purpose. It is this question that marks the change from reproach to encouragement. — **quid Alpīs**: *believing the Alps to be what else but mountain heights?* — **altitudines**: Livy uses the abstract in the plural as concrete. He thus gives the idea of height more prominence.

7. **Fingerent**: *suppose they are higher than the Pyrenees*. The subjunctive is the indirect form for the imperative. — **Pyrenaei**: Livy's expression is *Pyrenaeus saltus*. Cf. 23. 4; 30. 6; 60. 9. — **Alpīs**

quidem: *quidem* draws special attention to *Alpis*. As for the *Alps*. See *militi quidem* below.

8. faucis: Mss. read *pervias paucis esse exercitus*, but an old edition has *faucis* or *fauces*. The latter is capable of interpretation and is generally accepted. Wölfflin suggests *pervias paucis esse pervias exercitibus*, i.e. they are passable for individuals and so are passable for armies. This however is illogical. — **ne . . . quidem**: used in place of *et non*, with the force of *quoque . . . non*. Neither were their ancestors natives. — **eorum**: *legatorum*. — **indigenas**: *esse*. — **advenas**: another instance of a noun used as an adjective. — **migrantium**: Of what use is this an instance?

9. quid invium: a rhetorical question and so treated as a statement. — **nihil portanti**: set off against *cum liberis ac coniugibus* above. — **exhaustum**: note the change in the meaning of this word from "drawing off completely" to "undergo."

10. caput orbis terrarum: another anachronism. — **adeo . . . quod**: for *adeo . . . ut* as *asperum* is substantive.

11. cederent . . . sperent: an abrupt change of tense, very effective in a speech of this character. *Versat*, on which these words depend is historical present, and so may be regarded as a primary or historical tense. Study the tenses of the entire speech.

Chapter 31.

HANNIBAL'S MARCH TOWARD THE ALPS

In this chapter we find Livy's first statement as to Hannibal's route to and over the Alps. There are various theories as to the route taken, and the question is still unsettled, although the controversy is now confined to Little St. Bernard, Mont Genève, and Mont Cenis. The important points obtained from this chapter are that Hannibal ascended the Rhone to the Insula of the Allobroges, then, turning toward the Alps, — *Alpes peteret*, — did not pursue a direct route, — *non recta regione iter instituit*, — but turned to the left, — *ad laevam . . . flexit*, — i.e. somewhat to the north to the Tricastini, then along the northern boundary — *extremam oram* — of the Vocontii to the Tricorii and so to the Durance. If we examine the map, it will appear that Livy — if indeed he had any clear notion of the route — thought that

Hannibal went up the Isère to the Drac and then by Gap to the Durance.

1. *corpora curare*: to refresh themselves. Supply *cibo somnoque*, as in Book 3, 2. 10. cf. also Chaps. 54.2 and 55.8.

2. *adversa ripa*: up the bank, cf. *adverso flumine*, Chap. 27.2. — *mediterranea*: interior parts. The use of a neuter adjective with a partitive genitive is common in Sallust and in Livy, who follow the poets of the Augustan age; cf. *extrema agminis*, Chap. 34. 7. — *esset*: subjunctive of rejected reason, G. 541. n. 1. A. 540, n. 3. — *quantum . . . fore*: believing that the further he withdrew from the sea the less likely would he be to meet the Romans. Here is a substitute expression for *quo longius . . . eo minus*, therefore supply *eo* with *minus*. — *obvium fore*: subject is *Romanum*. The expression takes the place of the verb *occurrere*, cf. Chap. 26. 5.

4. *quartis castris*: military expression of time. — *diversis ex Alpibus*: the Rhone rises in the Alpes Poeninae, the Isère in the Alpes Graiae, and the meaning is, *from Alps that are far apart*. — *Insulae*: dative. For construction with *nomen esse* see G. 349. 5; A. 373. a.

5. *prope*: this must mean to the north of the Isère, as the Allobroges lived in the Insula. — *iam inde*: already at that time. Livy was thinking of their later power, which was broken by Q. Fabius Maximus, in 121 B.C.

6. *ambigebant*: as this verb means to dispute, the usual construction is with *de*, *certamine* is a simple ablative of cause, and *regni* is objective genitive. *The two brothers were engaged in a contest for the throne*.

9. *Tricastini*: about Aouste, ancient Augusta Tricastinorum; Vocontii, their town was Dea Vocontiorum, modern Die, between the Drac and Durance; Tricorii, near Gap (Vopiscum).

10. *et ipse*: i.e. an Alpine river like the Rhone and Isère. — *difficillimus*: note agreement with *amnis*, not with *flumen*.

11. *Nam cum*: for although. — *navium patiens*: navigable. — *nova vada*: new shoals. — *novos gurgites*: new pools. — *ad hoc*: like *praeterea*, besides this. — *saxa glareosa*: slippery stones like gravel. This sentence in the Mss. lacks a suitable verb to govern *gurgites*. Kiderlin in 1881 suggested *gignit* or *facit*. An old edition of 1470 has *gurgites faciens*.







12. **super**: here for *praeter* as in Sallust and the poets; *cetera* is neuter plural. — **sua**: *trepidatione*.

Chapter 32.

SCIPIO RETURNS TO HIS FLEET. HANNIBAL CLIMBS THE ALPS

1. **movit**: supply *castra*. Historical perfect with *postquam* G. 561. — **quadrato agmine**: *in battle array*, cf. Chap. 5. 16. — **facturus**: *ready to fight*. Livy speaks thus as a Roman for Scipio might have arrived earlier, if he had been eager to do so.

2. **videt**: used of both physical and mental vision. — **occursurus**: note in these sentences the free use of the future participles expressing purpose and intention.

3. **tamen**: *nevertheless*, — *i.e.* as he had withdrawn his army from Gaul — *lest he should leave Spain destitute of Roman protection*. — **provinciam**: incorporated in the relative sentence, — *the department which he had obtained by lot*.

5. **exercitus**: another instance of incorporation.

6. **ab Druentia**: Hannibal according to Livy is going along the Druentia, hence this statement is difficult of explanation. — **cum bona pace**: *without interference*. — **campestri**: *he marched through a country almost level*.

7. It is idle to speculate on the place Livy had in mind, especially as he seems to have followed some other authority, perhaps Polybius, who was describing another route. — **fama**: for similar idea see Chap. 29. 7. — **in maius . . . ferri**: *to exaggerate*. — **in maius**: is an instance of purpose expressed by *in* and the accusative, cf. **in speciem** in §12 below. — **torrida**: note the effect of cold as here described. The ancient writers recognized that cold and heat have a like effect, cf. *Nonius*, p. 432, *torrere non solum ignis sed etiam frigus posset*. — **montium altitudo**: Livy in his enumeration passes from inanimate to animate nature, from the height and snows to the huts, then to the animals and finally to men. In *visa montium altitudo* we have an instance of the participle with a noun, where the principal idea is in the participle. The usual concrete noun is here represented by the *montium altitudo*. *The nearby sight of the mountain heights*. — **intonsi et inculti**: *unkempt and neglected*.

8. *agmen*: object of *erigentibus*, which is dative with *apparuerunt*, — *as the line was making its way up the foothills*. — *imminentes tumulos*: *overhanging heights*, object of *insidentes*.

9. *ea*: adverb, Neue, *Formenlehre*, II.², p. 633. — *inter confragosa*: *where everything was rugged and precipitous*.

10. *abhorrentes*: *i.e. a montanis*. — *cum se*: this clause modifies *edoctus*. — *ut facturus*: here *ut* is used with the future participle and the parallel with the Greek construction is complete, as the latter has *ὡς* with the future participle. — *ex aperto*: *openly*. — *interdiu*: *by day*, opposed to *nocte*.

11. *die* . . . *consumpto*: *spending the day*. Study the varied sentence structure of §§11 and 12; first an ablative absolute, then a *cum* clause, then a *ubi primum* . . . *as soon as* clause, then two ablatives absolute, and finally the principal sentence.

12. *manentium*: *in castris*.

13. *angustias evadit*: *climbed the steep defiles*. Livy follows the poets in using the accusative with this verb, which in prose is intransitive. The verb originally meaning to *traverse* when used in poetry with words of elevation has the meaning *ascend*, cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 685, *gradus evadere* and Livy's *ardua evadere*, 2. 65: 3. Livy in 2. 17. 5 has *in muros evadere*. — *tumulis*: abl. of place with *consedit*.

Chapters 33, 34.

HANNIBAL DEFEATS THE MOUNTAINEERS

1. *mota*: *sunt*. — *agmen reliquum*: opposed to *ipse cum expeditis*, in the preceding section.

2. *signo dato*: by their own countrymen who, seeing the enemy's line (Carthaginian) on the march, gave the signal. — *castellis*: probably the temporary small forts at the foot of the hills which the mountaineers had been holding so as to control the *saltus*. Some say they were the *tecta* of Chap. 32. 10; others regard them as the *castella* of Chap. 34. 2. — *conveniebant*: note the force of the imperfect, G. 233. — *cum conspicunt*: another instance of the *cum inversum* clause, cf. Chap. 25. 3. In this use the *cum* clause gives the main idea of the sentence. — *alios* . . . *alios*: the two divisions referred to are the advance guard

with Hannibal and the main part of the army. — *via*: below the *arz*.

3. *oculis animisque*: either dative with *obiecta* or ablative with *immobiles*. The ambiguity may be intentional and we may accept the double construction. — *ut*: *when*. — *trepidationem*: *panic*, object of *videre*. This refers to the Carthaginian army. — *tumultu*: *confusion*. — *misceri*: *turbari*, — *was being thrown into disorder*.

4. *quidquid*: = *quantulumcumque*, any *panic*, however small. — *ipsi*: the *montani*. — *perniciem*: *Poenorum*. — *diversis rupibus*: rocks on different sides of the defile. See the use of the word *diversus*, Chap. 30. 2. This passage has been variously emended. The early Mss. have *perversis rupibus*. The later Mss. and old editions have *diversis rupibus*. — *iuxta ac*: = *pariter ac*. — *in vias*: *being accustomed to paths and to pathless regions alike*. The construction is *adsueti in*. Cf. Book 24. 5. 9. Livy uses the dative with *adsuetus* except in these two places, both of which are regarded by many as unreliable. The reading of the Mss., *in via ac devia*, however, defies a reasonable explanation, as *invius* and *devius* do not differ as the *ac* suggests.

5. *ab iniquitate*: this construction strongly personifies the *iniquitate* which is represented as fighting against them. Some think there may be an error in the Mss., due to the close proximity of *ab* with *hostibus*, but *oppugnabantur* suggests an agent. — *plusque*: with *certaminis* below. — *inter ipsos*: among the soldiers themselves, *i.e.* with each other. — *quam*: *i.e.* *plusque . . . quam*. — *sibi quoque tendente*: cf. Book 6. 3. 7, *cum pro se quisque tenderet*.

6. *infestum*: used passively, so the sense is — *the horses endangered the line*. — *repercussae*: properly this word should not refer to the means whereby the sound is thrown back, but to the sound itself, so that it is used here for *resonantes* = *reverberating*. — *stragem*: the details are given in the sentences which follow.

7. *turba*: rather the *tumultus* or *perturbatio turbae*. — *in immensum altitudinis*: *to a great depth*. Again a neuter adjective with a partitive genitive, instead of the attributive adjective and noun, cf. Chap. 31. 2. — *quosdam*: as these are the soldiers the *multos* must in the main be *lixae* (camp followers) and *calones* (servants), who were with the beasts of burden. — *et*: = *etiam*. —

ruinae: and the beasts of burden rolled over, packs and all, just like a falling building. The suggestion is that the baggage which was piled high on the animals fell over and scattered in all directions like the stories of a falling building. This would be true of the pack animals, but not of *equi*.

9. *exutum*: *si exutus esset*. — *tumultum auxit*: just as he had feared, cf. *ne tumultum . . . augetet*, § 8.

11. *cibo*: used in a narrower sense in opposition to *pecoribus*, meat; so, corn and cattle. The word does not occur in the Mss., but *captivo* needs a noun, and so *cibo* has been supplied. Others favor *capto cibo*, as *captivo* could easily arise from the combination of these words. — *aliquantum*: a considerable part of his march.

Chapter 34.

1. *ut*: restricting *frequentem*, so introducing something which must be taken into account. Considering that it was in the mountains. — *populum*: district, denoting locality as *montanos*. — *suis*: *quibus ipse uti solebat*; a hint as to *Punica fides*. — *artibus*: explained by *fraude et insidiis*.

2. *Magno natu*: Old men commanders of the forts came to him as envoys.

3. *itineris duces*: guides; see *duces* and *ducentium* below. — *acciperet*: representing the imperative in direct discourse.

4. *nequaquam*: with *composito agmine*. — *ut inter pacatos fieri solet*. It is implied that the baggage was placed between the cavalry and the infantry, and not in the rear as when all was peaceful. Thus in § 9 Hannibal in command of the infantry is separated by the enemy from both the baggage and cavalry.

5. *robore*: main body.

6. *a fronte ab tergo*: this couplet and *comminus eminus* show rapidity of action by the asyndeton.

7. *In eos versa*: when the line of infantry was turned toward them it became clear that if the rear guard had not been strengthened, they must have met with disaster in this defile. Note in the Latin phraseology the economy of expression. — *fuerit*: the form of the unreal condition is determined by the *quin*, for the indicative *fuit* would otherwise be the construction in the apodosis with

words of necessity. When the apodosis, however, of such a construction depends on a sentence calling for a subjunctive, the perfect periphrastic subjunctive is the form of the verb. G. 597. 5. c; A. 517. c; H.B. 582. 3. a.

8. *Tunc quoque*: *even as it was*. — *agmen*: refers to infantry under Hannibal. — *ut . . . ita*: *although . . . yet*. — *peditibus*: the sense of the passage is that Hannibal with the infantry could protect the cavalry preceding, but there was no reserve (*quicquam auxilii reliqui*) in the rear which could do the same for the infantry.

9. *per obliqua*: *against his flank*. — *Hannibali*: dative of agent with the compound *acta est*; another instance of the extension of a construction through Greek influence. The agent and the person interested are closely identified.

Chapter 35.

HANNIBAL REACHING THE SUMMIT BEGINS THE DESCENT

1. *iunctae copiae*: *the army was reunited and made its way through the defile*.

2. *latrocinii . . . more*: *in the manner of highway robbers* and not soldiers; *latrocinium* is opposed to *bellum*. — *utcumque*: *when-ever*. The subjunctives *daret*, *fecissent*, and *incederent* are iterative. — *progressi morative*: *those venturing ahead or lingering behind*.

3. *sicut . . . ita*: *though . . . yet*. — *tutum praebebant*: *protected*. — *adeundi propius*: *of approaching them*. This depends on *metus*, but it is not impossible to construe it with *insuetis*, and the ambiguity may be intentional.

4. *nono die*: coinciding with Polybius III. 33, so also *biduum* below. In Livy's account there is some uncertainty as to the disposition of this period. Starting from Chap. 32.6 three days were spent in fighting, 32. 8; 33. 1; 34. 6, a fourth day was given to rest. — *iugum*: because of the uncertainty of Hannibal's route as described by Livy, it is impossible to say to just what place Livy refers. — *per*: note the use of *per* in a double sense with *invia* and *errores*. — *initae valles*: of what is this an instance? — *invia*: *loca*. *On the ninth day they reached the summit of the Alps, traversing for the most part trackless regions and turning aside into wrong paths either because of the treachery of the*

guides or because when they lost confidence in them, merely guessing the road, they entered defiles at random. The necessity of this long explanation seems hardly apparent, unless we accept the theory that Livy found it difficult to explain the long time used for a short journey. His difficulty arises from the fact that he has taken his data from several authorities.

5. *stativa*: *castra*, so not a one-night encampment.

6. *Vergiliarum*: *Vergiliae* is the Roman name for the Pleiades. They set in the west just before sunrise on October 26. Livy thus attempts to explain the fall of snow, but he is probably in error again, for there is not sufficient time between October 29 and December 21, the date of the battle of Trebia, for the events which took place. Livy did not know that snow falls in the Alps earlier than the date given. The latter part of September is more consistent.

7. *pigritia*: *sluggishness and hopelessness were evident in the features of all.* — *signa*: with *prae ingressus*.

8. *promuntorio*: *a projecting height.* — *prospectus*: *distant view.* This is an extraordinary statement apparently based on Polybius III. 51. 3, as no place in the Alps where Hannibal could have crossed afforded a view as here described. Livy with a rhetorical purpose thus sets forth that in the near distance is the goal of their hopes. This explanation is supported by the double use of *ostentat*, which governs *Italiam* and *campos*, but with force of a verb of saying controls *transcendere* and *fore*.

9. *moenia*: the idea of the Alps serving as walls for Italy had already been suggested by Cato. *cetera plana*: an appropriate expression, although not physical in application, as is shown by *uno et altero proelio*. *What remains will be simple and easy*, literally level and down hill. — *summum*: *at the most*.

10. *furta*: figurative for "stealthy attacks," so "ambuscades."

11. *ab Italia*: on the side of Italy. Note the form of expression. — *multo*: with *difficilius*. — *ut*: *as*.

12. *sustinere . . . vestigio*: *could not keep themselves from falling, nor could those who had once stumbled retain their firm foothold (haerere adfixi vestigio).* Some read *adflicti*, which is contradictory to *qui titubassent*, which implies effort to prevent falling. — *que*: *and thus*.

Chapters 36, 37.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DESCENT (*concluded*)

1. **angustiorem**: than the road in general, which has just been described as *angusta*. — **rupem**: this word must here mean the cliff of rock which the path traverses, and is opposed to *saxis* which form the cliff. Nevertheless, the word is thought of as suggesting the road itself, as it is the *via* over the *rupis* which the writer evidently has in mind. Translate, — *then they came to a cliff affording a much narrower pathway and consisting of rocks so steep that a light-armed soldier, feeling his way and holding to the bushes and trunks of trees which projected on every side, was able to let himself down with difficulty*. For *rupis* and *saxum* contrasted see Book 32. 45. — **rectis saxis**: a variant for *praeceps*, ablative of quality, parallel to the adjective *angustiorem*. — **temptabundus**: Livy is fond of adjectives in *bundus*, and a number of these occur first in Livy, e.g. *cunctabundus*, *concinabundus*.

2. **admodum**: quite or fully. — **altitudinem**: it is difficult to understand why Livy speaks here of the depth, when the important point is the extent of road carried away. Polybius in a similar passage refers to the length of the section of the road which had disappeared. Apparently Livy has misunderstood some authority whose writings he was using.

3. **Digressus**: note omission of *est* here and in the following sentence.

4. **Haud dubia**: the syntax of this sentence is interesting, for the subjunctive *circumduceret* has the force of *circumducendum esset* or *necesse esset circumducere*. Hence the subjunctive is relied upon to give the idea of the necessity of the act. *There seemed to be no doubt that he would be compelled to lead his army around by a circuit however long, through places pathless and untrodden up to this time*.

5. **molli**: *nivi*. — **ingredientium**: of those going ahead.

6. **ut vero**: introduces the climax, but when. — **per nudam**: over the bare ice below (i.e. below the newly fallen snow and above the old), and through the liquid slush of the melting snow.

7. **in prono**: and betrayed the foot more readily on a slope. — **seu**

adiuissent: iterative subjunctive. — **adminiculis**: refers to *manibus* and *genu*. — **ad quas**: *against which they could push*.

8. Iumenta: It is difficult to explain Livy's picture. He seems to have in mind a layer of newly fallen snow resting on the old snow over which an icy crust had formed. The troops wore away the new snow and slipped on the icy covering of the old snow. The beasts of burden, however, cut at once into the icy crust and finally by reason of their struggles broke completely through, so that in this icy crust, which was hard and frozen to quite a depth, they were held as in a trap. The difficulty is caused by Livy's interchange of *glacies* and *nix* when he is speaking of the second and lower layer of snow, and we wonder whether he has in mind ice below the two layers of snow.

8. infimam nivem: we should expect *inferiorem*, but Livy has evidently neglected the fact that he has spoken of two layers of snow and is thinking simply of the extreme depth. — **nivem**: is governed by *sectabant*.

Chapter 37.

1. After struggling in vain to make their way over the ice, they abandon the effort suggested in 36. 4 and place their camp on the high ground, *iugum*, in the vicinity of the *rupes*, over which the road must be made. — **iumentis . . . hominibus**: the reverse order of that in the preceding chapter.

2. **ad rupem muniendam**: = *ad viam muniendam per rupem*. See note § 1 in preceding chapter. What is the origin of the expression *munire viam* = to make a road? — **arboribus**: this is not contradictory to *nec stirpes circa radicesve*, Chap. 36. 7, which simply refers to the icy surface over which they were struggling. — **ardentia . . . putrefaciunt**: this statement has stirred credulity almost from the time of Livy. Polybius does not mention the incident. Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History*, 23. 57, and 33. 71, refers to the theory in these words: *silices igne et aceto rumpunt*. Other writers mention the incident; Silius Italicus, III. 642, *excoquitur flammis scopulus*; Juvenal, 10. 153, *montem rumpit aceto*; Ammianus Marcellinus, 15. 10. 11; and Servius to the *Aeneid*, x. 13, *quas ante exustas aceto infuso rupit*. Appian, VIII. 14, gives the details even more completely than Livy. Some suggest that the

posca or soldiers' wine was the *acetum* used. — *putrefaciunt*: an appropriate word to indicate the effect of the acid on the rock. It takes the place of *mollit*, which is used in a different sense just below.

3. *mollit*: *make the slopes less steep by zigzags of moderate fall.*

5. *inferiora*: opposed to *cacumina*. — *colles*: no longer *montes*. — *rivosque prope silvas*: *and streams near the woods*. This expression has seemed strange to some, and it has been suggested that *prope* is an instance of anastrophe, but this is extraordinary in Livy. Madvig reads *et prope silvas* = *and almost forests*. Livy may have had in mind the importance of streams at this stage of the march, as there was probably a scarcity of water on the Alpine summits. — *iam*: suggests the idea of progressive improvement — *places becoming more and more worthy to be the habitation of men*.

6. *muniendo*: here used absolutely without *via*. — *iam*: progressive as above. — *the country as well as the disposition of the inhabitants becoming less and less wild*.

Chapter 38.

NUMBER OF THE TROOPS AND THE ROUTE

1. *quinto mense*: from the last of April (Chap. 21. 8) to the last of September (Chap. 35. 6). — *ut . . . sunt*: modifies what immediately precedes. — *quidam*: Polybius, 3. 56. 3 has a similar statement bearing on the length of the march and the number of troops remaining. — *auctores sunt*: *tradunt*. — *auctores* = *rerum scriptores*. *quinto decimo*: if we follow Livy's previous statements, the term is 18 days; thus Chap. 35. 4, nine days; 35. 5, ten; 37. 4, four; 37. 6, three. If we count marching days alone, or if we believe the army spent one day at the passage of the cliff and passed on, not waiting for the elephants to cross, the days are fifteen in number.

2. *nequaquam constat*: *there is no agreement*. — *qui plurimum scribunt*. — *qui minimum*: Polybius is one of these. He gives as his authority an inscription on a brass tablet, placed by Hannibal in the temple of Juno at Lacinium near Croton in southern Italy. He divides the infantry into 12,000 Africans and 8000 Spanish.

3. *L. Cincius*: see Introduction. — *moveret*: particularly influence me. Note absolute use of *moveret*, or perhaps *me* has fallen out after *maxime*. — *confunderet . . . additis*: confuse the number by adding.

4. *cum his*: (he says that), including these. The infinitive *adducta (esse) in Italiam*, depends upon a verb of saying implied in *auctor moveret*, as this is a statement of Cincius quoted by Livy. — *in Italia . . . sunt*: Livy's opinion. — *magis*: with *veri simile*, virtually one word. Cf. *veri similis*, Book 5, 11. 7. *It is more probable*.

5. *audisse*: subject, *se*, i.e. Cincius. — *ex ipso*: Hannibale. — *aliorum*: this word indicates that *equos* refers to baggage carriers, not to cavalry, and the *iumenta* were mules. — *amisisse*: depends on *audisse*. Polybius declares that after Hannibal crossed the Rhone he lost 18,000 infantry, and 2000 cavalry, but after the passage of the Pyrenees a total of 30,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry. A comparison of these numbers leads us to suspect that Livy, here quoting the numbers of Cincius, may have involved with them the figures given by Polybius. — *Taurini*: we easily recognize in this word the name of the city Turin. In the second part of the chapter Livy reverts to the vexed question of Hannibal's route over the Alps, and discusses the theory as to the people among whom he descended. Livy declares that all (*inter omnes*) agree that he came down among the Taurini, and that this fact ought to prove the impossibility of the route over the *iugum Poeninum*, that portion of the Alps extending from the Great St. Bernard south to the St. Gothard. Livy disregards the fact that Polybius claims that Hannibal descended among the Insubres, which view permits the acceptance of the route by the Great St. Bernard. See notes, Chap. 31. 1. If, however, he crossed by Mont Cenis or Mont Genève, he would have come down directly among the Taurini. — *digressio*: as he came down from the Alps.

6. *magis miror*: for this reason I am still more surprised. — *credere*: the subject is implied in the word *vulgo*. The infinitive is parallel to *ambigi*, and although not passive in form is so in sense taken with *vulgo*. — *Poenino*: monte, i.e. the Great St. Bernard. The spelling is undoubtedly due to the tradition that the word came from *Poenus* because of the crossing of the Carthaginians

by this pass. The word is probably related to the Celtic *penn*, a height or summit. — *Coelium*: Coelius Antipater believed Hannibal passed over the *iugum Cremonis*, a pass which no one can positively identify. Some identify it with the Little St. Bernard, for this and the Great St. Bernard would be the only routes bringing Hannibal among the Salassi, who were to the north of the Taurini and east of the Graian Alps. The Libui were north-east of the Taurini.

8. *patuisse*: *were open*, what follows seems to indicate that the blocking of the roads by the inhabitants is referred to. — *utique*: *at any rate*.

9. The order of this sentence is — *Neque, hercule, Seduni Veragri incolae iugi eius norint nomen inditum montibus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorum ullo sed ab eo (deo) quem in summo vertice sacratum montani Poeninum appellant*. — *norint*: this future perfect indicates what will be found to be true on investigation. *And you will find that the Seduni Veragri do not know that the name was given to this mountain from any passage of the Carthaginians . . .*

Chapter 39.

BEGINNING OF THE CAMPAIGN IN ITALY

1. *Peropportune*: *As a most fortunate occurrence for the beginning of the campaign war broke out between the Taurini, the nearest tribe, and the Insubres*. — *Taurinis*: dative of agent. G. 354, A. 375. — *proximae*: in Chap. 38. 5, Livy has stated that the Taurini were the tribe nearest to Hannibal as he entered Italy. He either repeats the statement here or he means that they were nearest to the Insubres in this part of the country. — *armare*: ordinarily meaning "to furnish with arms" here has the force "to place under arms," i.e. "to prepare for warfare." — *alteri*: *one of two combatants*. There is no suggestion that Hannibal was uncertain or intended to choose as circumstances might arise. The meaning is, that he intended to take sides, but could not. He would probably have aided the Insubres, who had already revolted from Rome.

2. *ex*: *after*. — *cultus*: *comfortable conditions*. — *inluvie tabeque*: *filth and wet*. The word *tabes* means "wet and dirt" which

soaked their clothing. In Chap. 36. 6 it was the muddy slush of the melting snow. — *squalida*: *neglected*, referring particularly to their clothing. — *efferrata*: *brutalized*. Note *ferus* as entering into the formation of this word, which here refers to their brutal appearance due to their neglect of hair and beard.

3. **P. Cornelio**: note how Livy endeavors to explain the strange movements of Scipio in a manner favorable to him. By inserting the words *tirone* and *trepido* in this sentence Livy relieves Scipio of the responsibility for the defeat at the Ticinus. — **Ea**: according to Latin usage agrees with *causa*. The outline of the sentence is *ea . . . causa fuit . . . festinandi ut*. — **cum venisset**: purely circumstantial and parallel with the following ablative absolute. G. 585. REM. — **Manlio**: Chaps. 17. 7; 25. 8. — **Atilio**: the second praetor sent to help the praetor Manlius. Chap. 26. 2. — **tirone**: *of raw recruits*. This word serves as an adjective parallel to *trepido*, although originally simply an appositive. Compare *tirones milites* as opposed to *veterani milites*.

4. **cum venit**: indicative as denoting time simply. — **moverat**: absolute for *castra moverat* as below. — **caput gentis**: later known as Augusta Taurinorum, the modern Turin. — **volentes**: agrees with the individuals suggested in *gentis*.

5. **accolas Padi**: *inhabitants along the Po*. — **ni oppressisset**: note position and force of the *ni* clause. A. 525 a. .

6. **quae: utra**. — **praesentem**: *at hand*.

8. **et: etiam**, not correlated with *et* below. — **lectus esset**: a naïve statement due to Livy's endeavor to suggest some reason for admiration on the part of Hannibal.

9. **inter se**: *their mutual regard*.

10. **occupavit**: *anticipated him in crossing*. Compare the use of *φθάνω* — **tamen**: *i.e. notwithstanding Hannibal's reputation and deeds described above*. This is consistent with Livy's attitude in this chapter.

Chapters 40, 41.

SCIPIO'S SPEECH

1. These speeches give Livy an opportunity to display his rhetorical powers. Speech making before battles was a custom

in antiquity, although of the four contests, Ticinus, Trebia, Lake Trasumennus and Cannae. Only the description of the first is thus prefaced in Livy. The analysis of the speech is simple. THE INTRODUCTION (§§ 1-5) sets forth the appropriateness of such an address. WORDS OF ENCOURAGEMENT follow; in §§ 5-6 former defeats of the enemy are recalled; in §§ 7-10 the effect of the Alps on their numbers and strength is described; in § 11 the opposition of the gods is suggested; in Chap. 41, §§ 1-5 Scipio's own manoeuvres and the cavalry battle are mentioned as justifying boasting; in §§ 6-9 the defeats of Hamilcar are recalled and in §§ 10-13 the ingratitude of the Carthaginians. THE CONCLUSION is a suitable exhortation to courage as the contest is for the protection of Italy and Rome. *apud vos*: these words make the sentence seem paradoxical. The purpose of the writer is perfectly clear—*If I had the other army I should not speak as I do now with you.* The reason is given at once, introduced by *enim*.—*loqui*: the editors call attention to the infinitive after *supersedeo*, whereas earlier writers use the ablative.

2. *quid referret*: *what advantage would there be?* Repeat *si educerem* as the protasis. — *vicissent*: compare the mood used here because of close relationship with *referret* with that of *habui* in § 1 and § 2. These are predicates of an explanatory sentence not sharing in the condition idea of the main verb. G. 663. 1; 655. 2; A. 593; H.B. 539; B. 324. — *equitatum*: a large word for a skirmish in which only an *ala* took part. Livy's purpose is very evident. — *cum quibus*: *in command of whom*. — *fugientem*: an exaggeration as shown by Chap. 31. 3. — *confessionem*: *the acknowledgment implied in his retreat and in his refusal to fight, I took as equivalent to (pro) a victory.*

3. *nunc*: *sed* is not used by Livy after conditions contrary to fact, hence *nunc* is the needed adversative particle. — *Hispaniae*: G. 356. 2. — *provinciae*: in Livy's day this word stood for "province" in the more familiar and exact sense. At the time of the Second Punic War and up to 146 B.C. when Rome established its first province, Sicily, the word had the significance of "a department of service." — *meis auspiciis*: according to the Roman view the battle was fought under the commander in chief, even in his absence, for he took the auspices and consulted the gods,

and to him alone belonged the right to do so. In the imperial period the *princeps* was hailed *imperator* at times of victory, although he was at Rome and far from the scene of battle. This theory would have prevented the uncertainty as to authority at the battle of Santiago.

4. — *ipse*: purposely placed next to *me* and effective in bringing up *ego* to the verb. — *voluntario*: as his department was Spain. See Chap. 32. 3. — *novo*: *who is a stranger to the soldiers who are strangers to him*.

5. *ne . . . ignoretis*: an absolute clause of purpose depending on a verb of saying implied. (I am saying this to you) *so that you may not be ignorant of the kind of war . . . you are to fight with those whom . . .* — *viginti*: inexact, for although this was the number of years first agreed upon for the indemnity by C. Lutatius and Hamilcar, the Romans reduced it to ten years, thus increasing the penalty. — *capta*: agrees with *praemia* as nearer, although logically the word should be *captas*, agreeing with *Siciliam ac Sardiniam*. — *habetis*: another instance of the auxiliary use of *habeo* with a participle as in Chap. 13. 6. — *Siciliam*: this island passed into Roman control at end of first Punic War, 241 B.C., but Sardinia was calmly annexed by the Romans while Carthage had difficulties at home and could not interfere, (238 B.C.) so it was not a *praemium belli*.

6. *nec*: by resolution = *et non*. — *nunc*: as compared with the time when they did not fight and yet could have done so.

7. *nisi creditis*: thus strengthening the argument by an ironical appeal which implies the impossibility of the acceptance of the theory, — a sort of *reductio ad absurdum*. — *duabus partibus*: *two thirds*. For other ways of expressing fractions see Roby, Latin Grammar, 1, p. 444. — *detractavere*: this is Livy's interpretation of Hannibal's journey up the Rhone and over the Alps. — *qui . . . supersint*: placed in brackets by the critics, as they are clearly nonsensical in view of the preceding words. Some clumsy reader has attempted an explanation in the margin which has finally passed into the text. The technical term for this occurrence is "gloss."

8. *At enim*: a convenient expression in Latin which introduces *the opinion* of a supposed hearer whose statement is thus presented

so as to be contradicted. *But, you will say that . . . — quidem: to be sure. — robora ac vires: endurance and strength. vis in plural means bodily strength, while robora means inherent and enduring strength.*

9. *enecti*: the parts are *enecare, enectus*. The word first means "to kill off," then "to exhaust." — *ad hoc: besides. — praeusti: with fingers and toes frozen literally their limbs are burned at the end.* Note the use of the same word to express the effect of heat and cold. So *torrida. — nervi: muscles.*

11. *forsitan*: here with indicative, as in Livy the word is used as an adverb and its derivation is forgotten and hence has no influence on the mood of the verb. — *cum . . . populo: with a leader and people who break treaties.* The *ruptore* is used as an attributive. Compare *advena*, Chap. 30. 8 and *tiro*, Chap. 59. 3. — *deos ipsos*: in contrast with *nos. — secundum deos: next to the gods. — bellum committere*: compare the familiar *proelium committere. — profigare*: here means "to almost finish." Some editors translate "to break the back of." So *committere* means "to begin," *profigare*, "to break the back of," and *conficere*, "to end."

Chapter 41.

1. *vestri*: G. 428. R. 1; A. 504. c; B. 339. 5; H.B. 614.

2. *Licuit . . . ire: I might have gone.* G. 597. R. 3, a; A. 486. a; H. B. 582. 3. — *haberem*: G. 600. — *minorem . . . belli: without question a less difficult war.*

3. *tamen: notwithstanding the opportunity to go to Spain.* Note in this sentence how Livy varies his constructions in a description — *he passed along the shores, landed, sent on his cavalry, and moved his camp to the Rhone.*

4. *qua parte: with that arm of my force with which, as if equites had preceded and not equestri. — fugentium*: Livy insists upon this view of Hannibal's movement as in Chap. 40. 2. — *agebatur: was hurried along. — terra: abl. of route. — neque*: this word is found in the oldest Mss. and hence is read in the text. Its retention involves the use of *regressus* as a noun and the supplying of *erat*, and to secure a reasonable interpretation we must supply *si secutus essem* — *because I was unable to overtake the infantry*

which hurried on as in flight and there was no retreat to the ships (if I had followed), with all possible speed I, by a long circuit on land and sea, have met the enemy almost at the foot of the Alps. If *neque* is omitted, *regressus* is a participle corresponding to *egressus*. It has been stated by critics that *neque* arose from *nequi* which was inserted as a correction for *non poteram*. Wölfflin reads *nequieram*. — *timendo*: *dreadful*, gerundive used as adjective, as often in Livy, here sarcastic.

5. *utrum . . . an*: introducing a double direct question. *Does it seem that I when refusing an engagement . . .* — *cum*: introducing a purely circumstantial clause. — *occurrere*: *or that I am meeting him in his very tracks?* Mark the difference in tense of *incidisse* and *occurrere*.

6. *iuvat*: *it is pleasing to know*. — *utrum . . . an*: introducing a double indirect question.

7. *denariis*: *denarius* is derived from *deni* (*decem*) *asses*; when depreciated it was equal to sixteen asses. It had a value of about twenty cents, so that \$3.50 would be the price of each individual. This is the only reference to such a ransom. — *Herculis*: a mythological reference to the story of Hercules (Graius) and his journey over the Alps after he had stolen the cattle of Geryon. — *ut ipse fert*: *as he himself says*. The verb *fero* used with words of emotion, means *disclose*, *exhibit*, then with *prae se*, *to display* (*to bear before oneself*), then of speech, *to make known*, *to assert*. — *vectigalis*, *stipendiarius*: what is the difference? This is an extraordinary statement, as Carthage simply paid an indemnity of 2200 talents in ten years.

8. *Saguntinum scelus*: what is the reference? — *ab Eryce*: what historical event referred to?

11. *humanorum*: supply *suppliciorum*.

12. *tutelae*: predicate possessive genitive. A. 343. — *duximus*: supply *eos* as object. — *Africo bello*: the war with the mercenaries.

13. *pro*: *in return for these favors*. — *oppugnatum*: supine. — *decore*: from *decus*, for *decor* does not mean "glory." — *furiosum*: compare *furiam* in Chap. 10. 11.

14. *quondam*: in the former war.

16. *putet*: *let each one think*. — *intueri*: subj. is *senatum popu-*

lumque, but translate, — *are watched by the senate and people of Rome.*

17. *qualis . . . talem*: *that such as our strength and valor shall be, such also will be the fortune of that city and of the Roman empire in the days to come.* — *illius*: emphatic, *that great city.* — *imperii*: Livy is again guilty of anachronism carried away by the desire for rhetorical effect.

Chapter 42.

HANNIBAL'S OBJECT LESSON

1. *Haec*: supply *dixit*, often omitted in sentences summing up what precedes. See Chap. 24. 5. — *rebus*: *action, deeds* as opposed to *verbis*. — Hannibal prefaces his speech by an object lesson intended to illustrate the situation in which the Carthaginian army was now placed. — *adhortandos*: *aroused.* — *circumdato*: *placing his army in a circle.* — *ad spectaculum*: *for (the purpose of seeing) a spectacle.* Note force of preposition. — *ecquis*: *whether any one?* — *victor*: this appositive of the subject of *acciperet* serves the purpose of a conditional clause *si victor esset*.

2. *in id*: *with this in view, i.e.* the determining who should fight. An instance of *in* denoting purpose, a usage of Plautus and then found in Livy and Tacitus, but not in Cicero or Caesar. — *deiecta*: used of casting lots which were thrown into a helmet or urn. See Vergil, *Aen.* 5. 490, *deiectam aerea sortem Accepit galea.*

3. *cuiusque*: not the genitive of *quisque* but *=et cuius, and this one whose.* — *alacer*: note the collection of words indicating the eagerness of the Gauls. — *cum . . . tripudiis*: *danced in the manner of their countrymen.* The *ter* in this word indicates the measure.

4. *dimicarent*: subjunctive of iteration. — *is*: *such.* — *animorum*: plural, as is usual when a number are concerned. — *condicionis*: *i.e.* imprisonment. — *spectantes*: this with *vulgo* includes all the witnesses, not merely their countrymen.

Chapters 43, 44.

HANNIBAL'S SPEECH

1. *Sic*: modifies *adfectos* and refers to the spirit shown in the preceding section. — *paribus*: *par* is the term for gladiators engaged in contest. Translate, *duels.*

2. This speech is also a clever rhetorical achievement admitting of simple analysis. INTRODUCTION, § 2. The behavior of these prisoners is an illustration of how you, being similarly situated, should behave. ARGUMENT. They were compelled to fight for freedom, so must you (§§ 3, 4). The rewards are great (§§ 5-10). The victory is easy, for you are veterans, the Romans are raw recruits, your general is experienced and familiar to you, theirs is of little experience and a stranger to his soldiers (§ 11-Chap. 44. 2). We are bold as aggressors, aroused by their ill-treatment and arrogance (§§ 3-7). If you are brave, victory is assured (§§ 8-9). — **animum**: incorporated in relative sentence, *i.e. eundem animum*. — **vicimus**: perfect tense, anticipating the result and giving an impression of confidence.

3. **nescio an**: *I am inclined to think*. A modest affirmation, like *forsitan*, G. 457. 2.

4. Note how the enumerative asyndeton marks the hindrances portrayed in this section. — **dextra**: ablative. — **duo maria**: the Adriatic and that portion of the Mediterranean known more exactly as the Etruscan Sea. — **habentis**: accusative agreeing with *vos* supplied as the object of *claudunt* from *vobis* in preceding sentence. Some read *habentibus* following the Codex Puteanus. The construction is then a dative of disadvantage agreeing with *vobis* and *claudunt* is used absolutely for *claudunt fugam*. — **circa**: not "on all sides," but loosely "around you." This word is parallel to *ab tergo*, but used intentionally in place of a corresponding *a fronte*. — **maior**: the Codex Puteanus repeats the word *Padus* after *maior* and some editors retain it as a rhetorical repetition. — **integris**: *in undiminished strength*, an ablative absolute, although it may be construed as a dative of agent with *transitae*.

6. **parentibus**: dative with *ereptas*. A. 381; B. 188. 2d.

7. **agitedum**: *come now*. The singular *agedum* assumes the rôle of an interjection so freely that it is found in Livy with the plural and with the third person.

8. **Satis adhuc**: *long enough already*, looking forward to *tempus est iam*. — **vastis**: *desolate*. This is the first meaning, then figuratively, of extent, *immense*. — **consectando**: G. 431. 3; A. 507. The ablative of the gerunds denoting manner approximates the present participle, and we should translate as a parallel to the main verb.

9. *stipendia*: *campaign*. The word first denotes the pay of a soldier, then, by an easy transfer, the campaign whereby the pay is earned. So in § 10 *emeritis stipendiis* means *when your campaigns are over*. — *emensos*: from *emetior*, first to measure out, then to traverse.

11. *magni nominis*: this is defined below as *nominis Romani*. The genitive modifies *bellum* and is parallel to *difficilem*. — *nec*: = *et ne*. — *existimaritis*: perfect subjunctive denoting of prohibition. G. 263. 2. *b*; A. 450. 3; B. 276.

12. *comparandi*: *comparable*. The gerundive usually conveyed the idea of necessity, but in negative sentences or those suggesting a negation, *e.g.* interrogative, it may have the idea of possibility.

13. *ut . . . taceam*: *not to mention*. Another instance of the absolute subjunctive of purpose depending on a verb of saying implied. — *viginti*: 238–218 B.C. — *cum illa virtute*: depends on verbal force of *militiam* with which we may supply the participle *peractam*. — *Herculis columnis*: Gibraltar, ancient Calpe, on one side and Jebel Musa or Apes Hill, ancient Abyla, on the other. — *vincentes*: with subject of *pervenistis*. Translate as a parallel verb.

14. *tirone*: as an adjective. See Chap. 39.3. — *caeso*: note the enumerative asyndeton and the rhetorical effect. The order of events is followed, as shown in the account of Manlius's campaign in Chap. 25. 9–14. — *ignoto*: compare statements in Chap. 41. 4. where the same idea is given with a different application.

15. *An . . . conferam*: study origin of this abrupt interrogation. G. 457. 1. — *prope natum*: *as good as born*, certainly reared. — *semenstri*: Scipio entered upon the office of Consul March 15, as was the custom in his day and not on January 1 as in Livy's time. It was now the last of October so that six months is about correct. — *desertore*: how differently does Scipio interpret his own movements.

16. *signis*: referring to the eagles, the standards so familiar in Livy's day.

17. *ediderim*: *exhibited some deed*. — *notata*: *exploits marked by time and place*, *i.e.* definitely specified. — *cuius*: = *ut eius*. This explains the subjunctive *ediderim*, G. 631.

18. *donatis*: recalling the Roman custom of later date of presenting *dona* for bravery. These varied in number according to rank.

Chapter 44.

1. **animorum**: this word meaning a trait of character is often in the plural because of the number of instances needed to establish the fact. — **veteranum**: referred to in Chap. 43. 13 as having had *viginti annorum militiam*. — **frenatos**: the Spanish cavalry used bridles. — **infrenatos**: in this adjective the *in* has a negative force as in *infrenus* the adjective used by Vergil, *Aeneid* 4. 41. This must not be confounded with the participle of *infreno*, which means to *put on a bridle* like *freno*. The Numidians are referred to.

2. **socios**: all except the Carthaginians. — **pro patria**: Chap. 41. 14.

3. **infestis**: from adjective *infestus*, "hostile." It has no etymological connection with *inferimus* of which *inferentis* below is a participle. — **inferentis**: substantive use.

4. **accendit**: in translating make *animi* the subject and treat *accendit* as passive and plural. — **dolor**: subjective. It means the sense of pain due to the ill treatment implied in *iniuria* and *indignitas*. Translate, *the sense of pain due to their injustice and ill treatment*. — **ad supplicium**: nothing is said about this in Chap. 6. 8, or in Chap. 18. 4. This is an addition by the speaker as is also the claim that they demanded others as well as himself. See Chap. 30. 3. — **oppugnassetis**: informal indirect discourse as the *depoposcerunt* is a verb of saying and likewise contains the infinitive. A. 591, 592. — **deditos**: = *si dediti essemus* or *si nos dedidisset senatus*. — **fuerunt**: note the indicative in a condition contrary to fact in the apodosis when verb is periphrastic. G. 597. 3 (a); A. 517. d.

5. **sua**: the construction is *facit omnia (esse) sua suique arbitrii*. Note the predicate possessive genitive. The phrase indicates the general and wide-spread sway of Rome. — **Cum quibus**: note the anaphora and the asyndeton, rhetorical devices heightening the effrontery of Rome. — **habeamus**: a deliberative question becomes an indirect question. — **modum**: *to set the limits*. He is referring to the theory as to limits set forth in Chap. 2. 7. — **excedamus**: this is a command set in indirect form. — **neque**: = *nec tamen*.

6. **ne transieris**: there is a change here to the direct form and a dialogue takes place between Rome and Carthage. The perfect

subjunctive is used in prohibitions and gives the impression of intense emotion. — at *liberum*: this is a reading suggested by Kraus in 1875, *Rhein Mus.*, 30. 324. Compare also *duorum populorum libertas servaretur* of Chap. 2. 7. The Codex Puteanus and many editions have *ad Hiberum est Saguntum* which must mean "Saguntum is on the Ebro," and must be understood as declaring that it was not to the north of the river. To secure a sensible interpretation more readily, others have suggested *at cis Hiberum est Saguntum* and *at non ad Hiberum est Saguntum*. In Chap. 2. 7. Livy declares that a treaty was made by the Roman people with Hasdrubal that the Ebro should be the boundary between the possessions of Rome and of Carthage in Spain. As Saguntum was one hundred miles south of the Ebro, this would place Rome in the wrong as to Saguntum, unless some special clause was added protecting that city. This additional clause, therefore, whether in the original treaty or not, was vital to the question of the right of Rome to interfere with the Carthaginian attack on Saguntum. It is this question which forms the subject of the dialogue, and we can readily see how the uncertainty as to the reading has arisen. It is very probable that Livy was ignorant of the exact location of Saguntum as he speaks of the town as midway *inter imperia duorum populorum*, Chap. 2. 7, and hence may have made the statement *ad Hiberum est Saguntum*.

7. *Hispanias*: anachronism, as the division of Hispania into *Citerior* and *Uterior* was unknown in Hannibal's day. — *autem*: this is the corrective *autem* used in questions. The Latin term is *correctio* the Greek *epanorthosis*. It is the tense, however, which is corrected and not the meaning. — *miserunt*: they did not actually go. — *nilhil . . . relictum*: *nothing has been left*, and so we shall have nothing, — hence the future perfect in the protasis. — *vindicarimus*: for *vindicaverimus*.

8. *illis*: Romans. — *timidis*: dative in the predicate after *esse* agreeing with *illis*. This is the more common construction in place of two accusatives, A. 455. 2. a. Compare this construction with *necesse est* below. — *sua*: *quos* is logically the subject of the sentence although syntactically the object, A. 301. b. — *dubitāt*: *wavers*. The implication is, of course, inclination toward the enemy. An euphemistic statement.

Chapter 45.

PRELIMINARIES OF THE BATTLE

1. **accensi**: *i.e.* by the speeches. — **Romani**: the story goes back to Chap. 39. Hannibal is at the city of the Taurini. Scipio landing at Pisa moves to Placentia (modern Piacenza), crosses the Po and marches along the left bank to the Ticinus. He now crosses to the west side of the Ticinus and the battle is fought beyond that river. — **iungunt**: note how the Romans say "to bridge a river." — **insuper**: *in addition*.

2. **Poenus**: Hannibal. — **Maharbalem**: Chap. 12. 1.

3. **parci**: A. 372; B. 187. II. b. — **Victumulis**: this town is generally placed near Vercellae, but where the battle was fought is uncertain.

4. **revocato**: note the various constructions in this sentence. — **certa**: *definite*, as given in the next sentence. — **pugnarent**: G. 628; A. 531. 2.

5. **immunem**: here as applying to property, *free from taxes*. — **argento**: *silver, cash*.

6. **qui . . . facturum**: a Roman custom transferred to Carthaginians. — **secum**: more exactly *cum sua fortuna*, a form of abridged comparison.

7. **binaque mancipia**: *two slaves apiece*.

8. **agnum**: animal used when such oaths were made. — **silicem**: the flint knife used in sacrifices. This shows the conservative character of religious customs as the implement of the stone age is retained. — **si falleret**: indirect form for *si fallo*. — **Iovem**: Roman divinity in a speech of a Carthaginian written by a Roman. We may regard this as an instance of "Jupiter," used to indicate the supreme divinity of any nation, as the Greek, *Zeus*. — **mactarent**: stands for the imperative or subjunctive in direct discourse. — **mactasset**: indirect for *mactavero*.

9. **quisque**: in partitive apposition with *omnes*. It also supplies the logical subject of the ablative absolute. *Then all, just as if they individually had received the gods as authority for their hope . . .* Note the juxtaposition of *suam* and *quisque* and see G. 318. 3. — **id**: explained by *quod pugnarent*. — **morae**: predicate genitive. — **ad potienda**: with *morae*. — **sperata**: to avoid another *spes*, of which the plural is rare.

Chapter 46.

THE BATTLE OF THE TICINUS

1. *super*: = *praeter*. A usage found often in Livy and originating with Sallust and the poets. — *prodigiis*: extraordinary phenomena of nature which indicated a breach between gods and men to be expiated by sacrifices and offerings. These are not given by Polybius. Iulius Obsequens has collected those recounted by Livy.

2. *lupus*: the appearance of this animal in an unusual place indicated evil to come. — *apum*: the more usual *apium* is also found in Livy.

3. *expeditis*: this must mean *since they were light armed or being light armed*, as it is unnecessary to describe the *iaculatores* thus as they were always light armed. — *ad castra*: supply *speculanda* from *speculandas*. — *obvius fit*: plural is also found in Livy where a singular subject is amplified by *cum* and its noun. G. 285.
3. 2. — *et ipsi*: = *etiam ipsi*. — *circa*: = *quae circa erant*.

4. *hominum equorum*: enumerative asyndeton. — *consistit . . . expeditabant*: note the change of tense so as to indicate in the case of the latter that the action was continuous. The change in number is due to change of view as regards *agmen*, which as subject of *consistit* is singular, as subject of *expeditabant* plural and equal to *milites*. Note also that in Livy *expeditabant* is followed by *ad* with accusative, in other authors by the dative.

5. Scipio had a double line with the slingers and Gallic cavalry in front and the Romans and the flower of the allied cavalry in the second line. Hannibal had a single line with the Numidians on the wings and the Spanish cavalry in the center. See Chap. 44. 1.

6. *vixdum*: with *sublato*. *Scarcely had they raised the battle cry when . . .* — *inter subsidia*: this must mean that they fled to the second line among the reserve troops as the *subsidia* and *secunda acies* are identical. — *pedites*: the *iaculatores* of the Roman line. — *multis labentibus*: explained by the preceding clause *quia . . . intermixti*, and *desilientibus* is explained by the following clause *ubi . . . vidissent*. The arrangement, therefore, forms a chiasmus. — *vidissent*: subjunctive of repetition. — *ad pedes*: the plural of *pes*, so the expression means *ad pedestre certamen*. *The fight had now become in great part an infantry battle*.

7. **donec**: immediately following *venerat* is not quite logical and the idea of *and it so continued* must be supplied:—**circumvecti**: from *circumvehor*.—**paulum**: with *circumvecti*.—**Is pavor**: *terror at this*.—**auxit**: the subject is *vulnus* and likewise *periculum*.—**propulsatum**: the participle gives an added idea and the expression *periculum propulsatum* must be sharply distinguished from the combination of noun and participle in which the participle contains the principal idea as *Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae*, and *perfecti huius belli* in the next sentence.—**tum primum pubescentis**: *just reaching manhood*, seventeen years old.

8. **Hic**: Scipio Africanus Maior.—**erit**: *you will find that this is the young man who . . .* For this use of the future tense see Chap. 38. 9, and note.

9. **tamen**: (notwithstanding the bravery of the son,) *the flight was disorderly, especially that of the spearmen*.—**Alius**: regarded by some as *reliquus* and hence opposed to the part of the cavalry with the *iaculatores*, an idea suggested by the use of *maxime*—then the meaning is *the rest of the cavalry*. Others take *alius* as set off against the *iaculatores* and regard *equitatus* as an appositive, thus—*the rest (namely) the cavalry*.

10. **quod**: directly governed by *tradidere*, and not by *obtinuit* (*has been maintained*), which is intransitive. The *quod* stands for *a filio servatum consulem esse* which is implied in *de filio verum esse*.—**fama**: this word repeats the idea of *plures tradidere* and hence Riemann-Benoist supplies *ea* before *fama*. This lessens the abruptness of the latter part of this sentence.

Chapters 47, 48.

MANEUVERS AFTER THE BATTLE

1. There is considerable uncertainty as to the movements of the two armies after the battle of the Ticinus and up to the battle of the Trebia; and hence there is uncertainty likewise as to the exact location of the latter battle. Livy states that Scipio marched from the Ticinus to the Po, and crossing the river encamped near Placentia; and that Hannibal, following the Romans, captured six hundred who had allowed the bridge to drift away

before they could cross. There were two divisions of the Carthaginians, one under Hannibal, the other under Mago, his brother. These two divisions after a march to the west of two days bridged the river and then turned east to Placentia where battle was offered, but declined, and the Carthaginians then encamped about seven miles from the Romans. Scipio moved from Placentia to the west, across the Trebia and occupied the hilly ground inaccessible to cavalry. Thus Scipio is on the west side of the Trebia and Hannibal is on the east side. Some believe that Hannibal intended to keep Sempronius from joining Hannibal. Livy does not suggest this. Sempronius succeeded in joining Scipio. Just before the battle Hannibal allures the Romans across the river and the battle was fought on the east side. The objections urged against this view are the fact that Scipio intervenes between Hannibal and his base of supplies and the ease with which Sempronius joined Scipio. Those with whom these objections have weight say that Scipio when moving to Placentia did not go near the town, but encamped somewhat at a distance and west of the Trebia. This would place the battle ground on the west side of the river. Unfortunately Polybius is not convincing in his statements. — *ob id*: Livy often uses this and *ob haec* in place of *ob eam rem* or *propterea*.

2. *vasa colligere*: an ordinary military expression meaning to pack up, literally to gather one's traps. — *mota*: supply *sunt* from *est*. — *iunxerat*: the subject of this word and of *traiceret* is *Scipio*, implied in what precedes. — *atque*: the emphasis is on the *insestatione*, the more important word, for it states the cause of the *tumultu*.

3 *prius*: *i.e. pervenere Placentiam priusquam*, an assertion complimentary to Scipio. — *sciret*: G. 577. — *tamen*: *as it was, however*, in spite of the secret and quiet movements of the Romans. — *ad sescentos*: the object of *cepit*. — *ad*: *about*, G. 415. — *moratorum*: from *moratus*, the adjective, used as a substantive, *i.e. those who were delayed* = *qui morati erant*, not from *morator*, which means *loiterer*. — *citeriore*: from Hannibal's point of view, so on left or north bank of the Po. Livy here plainly indicates that Hannibal followed Scipio up to the Po and there captured the rear guard of the Romans, but did not cross the bridge. Polybius has a similar description, but makes the Ticinus the scene of the capture and

broken bridge. If Livy had *ripa Ticini* in place of *ripa Padis*, his story would coincide with that of Polybius. — **potuit**: Hannibal is subject. — **extrema**: the end was unfastened. — **ut**: temporal.

4. **auctor est**: = *trahit*. — **in ordinem**: *in a line across the river*, so as to serve as a breakwater to check the force of the stream; *in* is used with the accusative to denote purpose.

5. **ea**: *these details, i.e. this story*. — **peritis**: dative. — **amnis**: depends on *peritis*. — **fecerint**: a touch of irony. The potential subjunctive. G. 257. 1, n. 1. — **neque . . . et**: correlated. — **ut . . . travexerint**: subjunctive of concession; *even though we admit that all the Spaniards crossed on inflated bags*, Chap. 27. 5, note. — **et**: the sentence outline is *neque vim superasse . . . veri simile est et . . . vada petenda fuerunt*.

6. **potiores**: *more worthy of confidence*. — **biduo**: *in two days*. — **vix**: with *inventum*. — **iungendo**: dat. with *locum*. — **ea**: *rate = and by this bridge*. — **equites praemissos esse**: depends on *tradunt*.

Chapter 48.

2. **ad**: adverbial. *ad duo milia* and *ducenti equites* are subjects of *transfugiunt*. — **accensos**: parallel to *adlocutus* in sense, but not in syntax, perhaps because *adlocutus* is without a passive. — **quemque**: in partitive apposition to *quos*, as usual close to the *suas*, but in an order reversed from that common in classical writers.

4. **Trebiam**: the river flows north into the Po, not far from Placentia. — **iam**: *gradually*, used in this sense with the comparative *altiora*. See Chap. 37. 6.

5. **utique**: *at least*. — **ni**: the usual position of the *ni* clause.

6. **morae**: genitive with *pretio*. — **emissus**: *they let the enemy slip out of their hands*. — **citra**: from the standpoint of the Carthaginians.

7. **in via iactati**: *aggravated by the journey*. — **collegam**: Sempronius. — **revocatum**: anticipates the statements of the next chapter.

9. **Clastidium**: west of Trebia, modern Casteggio. — **numerus**: here of quantity = *vim*, and not of number. — **nec sane**: cf. *haud sane*, Chap. 32. 10. — **aureis**: an instance of anachronism, as gold was not coined until 217 B.C. The statement was appreci-

ated by the people for whom Livy was writing; *nummus aureus*, is \$5.

Chapters 49, 50, 51.

NAVAL OPERATIONS NEAR SICILY

1. These chapters form a digression essential to the narrative, as reference must be made now to Sempronius and his career immediately preceding the battle of the Trebia, at which contest he was the commander. — *interim*: refers to that part of the war described in Chaps. 26–48 and not to the period of the cessation of hostilities (*constitisset*). — *Italiae*: after *imminentes*. — *Sempronio*: see Chap. 17. 1–6.

2. *missae*: either supply *sunt*, as the punctuation in the text indicates, or regard the *novem, octo, tres* as partitive apposition to *viginti quinquiremes*. — *Liparas*: as *insula Vulcani* is one of the *Liparae insulae*, we should not expect the plural to be used when the word is set off against the name of an island of the group. Hence scholars have suggested that the word *Liparas* here stands for the largest island of the group or for the town upon it. In Chap. 51. 3 Livy refers to these islands as *insulae Vulcani*. We must not, however, expect exact geographical designations in Livy. For the absence of the preposition see G. 337 Rem.; A. 428. c, e. — *tenuerunt*: supply *cursum*. — *fretum*: the ships were sailing from Lilybaeum (see § 4) on the west end of the Sicily, east to the Lipari islands. The *aestus*, either the tide or heavy sea, — perhaps caused by the *tempestas* referred to in § 5, — drove them out of their course into the Fretum Siculum, the Straits of Messina.

3. *ad eas conspectas*: = *ad earum conspectum*. The prepositional phrase is a substitute for a *cum* clause. Hiero in the early part of the First Punic War was a friend of Carthage, but afterward became a devoted ally of the Romans. — *Messanam in portum*: for preposition see A. 428. j.

4. *cuius*: the fleet to which they belonged, A. 307. e. — *petere*: depends on *cognitum est*, so *esse* and *credere*.

6. *M. Aemilio*: Sicily was assigned to the praetor M. Aemilius as his department when Sempronius went on to Africa. See Chaps. 17. 6 and 51. 1.

7. **exemplo et**: the *et* is coördinate with the *et* before *ante omnia*, and the two clauses are *circa civitates missi (sunt) legati* and *ante omnia Lilybaeum teneri*. The infinitive *teneri* is historical. The text is uncertain and some read here *intendere* as an historical infinitive. The entire sentence shows how Aemilius acts upon the advice of Hiero. — **legati**: these are military officers who represent the commander and are his lieutenants, while the *tribuni*, six in number, were in command of the legion. — **socii navales**: the *nautae*, or *remiges*. The *milites classici* are the marines. The Romans employed allies as sailors, following their custom as to the cavalry.

8. **missi**: supply *sunt*. The subject is the antecedent of *qui*. — **ut . . . ne**: for simple *ne*, not in Caesar or Sallust and unusual in Livy. G. 545, Rem. 1; see Books 34. 17. 8, and 43. 12. 4.

9. **de industria**: *purposely*. — **praesensum . . . est**: *they were seen*. — **sublatis**: with all sails and rigging in place. Cf. *demendis armamentis*.

11. **haud**: with *imparatis*. Note order and compare that of adjective, preposition, noun.

13. **memoria**: with *freti*. The reference is to the battle of Aegates Insulae, which closed the First Punic War.

Chapter 50.

1. **eveci**: the subject is *Romanus et Poenus* obtained from what follows. — **conserere**: the phrases *pugnam* and *proelium conserere* are made after the analogy of *conserere manum*. They are expressions common in Livy for *proelium committere*. — **velle**: historical infinitive with the unusual construction of a dependent infinitive. The Romans desired to have a contest close at hand, grappling and boarding.

2. **contra**: adverbial. — **eludere**: a gladiatorial term.

3. **ut . . . ita**: *although . . . yet*. — **sociis navalibus**: a Roman expression used of Carthaginian crews. — **adfatum**: *sufficiently*. Allied with *fatisco*, so *ad-fatim* = *to weariness*. — **conserta esset**: subjunctive of repetition.

5. **circumventae**: entirely surrounded and so *captured*. — **mille et septingenti**: this number divided among seven ships indicates about 250 on each vessel. From Chap. 29. 2 we learn that

there were fifty soldiers on each ship. The Romans regularly had 120 soldiers, and 300 oarsmen and sailors, on a quinquireme.

6. **reduce**: follows poetic usage. Elsewhere in prose this word is used only of persons.

7. **gnaris**: abl. absolute and *qui Messanae erant* is the subject. Hiero and those with him are referred to Chap. 49. 3. — **venit**: from Rome. — **ei**: after *obviam*. — **praetorium**: here applied to the ship of the commander as *praetorium* is the term for the general's tent. Recall the origin of the word *praetor* from *prae* and *eo*.

11. **volentibus**: predicate dative of reference, the only instance in Livy of this construction which imitates the Greek τοῦτό μοι βουλομένῳ ἐστίν, G. 353, N. 2. — **pugnatum**: supply *esse*. — **accepere**: as a verb of hearing, like *dare* of speaking.

Chapter 51.

1. **A Lilybaeo**: it is characteristic of Livy's style to use a preposition with names of towns for greater clearness; cf. *ab Roma*, Chap. 9. 3. — **praetore**: Chap. 49. 6. — **Melitam**: Malta.

2. **milibus**: obtains its construction from *cum* as *minus* does not influence the construction according to the familiar rule. — **traditur**: as a middle voice, *surrenders*, although with *oppidum* it may be taken as passive. — **venierunt**: as passive of *vendo*, hence *a consule* and *a praetore*; *veneo* from *venum* and *eo* like *vendo* from *venum* and *do*. Some take *a consule* and *a praetore* closely with *captivi* emphasizing the verbal force, i.e. *those who were taken captive by*. . . — **sub corona**: *into slavery*. The expression arises either from the garlands (*coronae*) placed on the heads of those sold or from the circle (*corona*) of bystanders.

3. **Postquam**: with imperfect indicative expressing the action as continued into the time of the principal verb. G. 562; A. 543. a. — **insulas Vulcani**: another way of designating the Lipari Islands. — **Punicam classem**: Chap. 49. 2.

4. **urbem**: Vibo, the Latin form of Greek Hippo, is located in Bruttium, Southern Italy, near Monteleone.

5. **primo quoque tempore**: *at the earliest possible time*.

6. **Mari Supero**: Adriatic Sea. Livy clearly states that Sempronius sent his army on ships through the Adriatic to Ariminum and that he himself, passing along the coast of Italy, went to

Ariminum. Livy does not say by the Adriatic, so that it is possible that he sailed along the west shore to Rome and marched thence to Ariminum, as Polybius says, who also declares that Sempronius sent the troops by land and the fleet by the Adriatic to Ariminum.

7. **explevit**: *made up the complement of fifty ships*. — **legens**: *coasting along*. The idea comes from picking up the headlands just as the idea of *legere*, to read, is associated with picking up individual words. — **ipse**: opposed to *exercitus* above. — **Ariminum**: modern Rimini on the coast of Umbria, afterward connected with Rome by the Via Flaminia and with the towns to the west up to Placentia by the Via Aemilia. — **inde**: following the line of the road built later.

Chapters 52-56.

THE BATTLE OF THE TREBIA

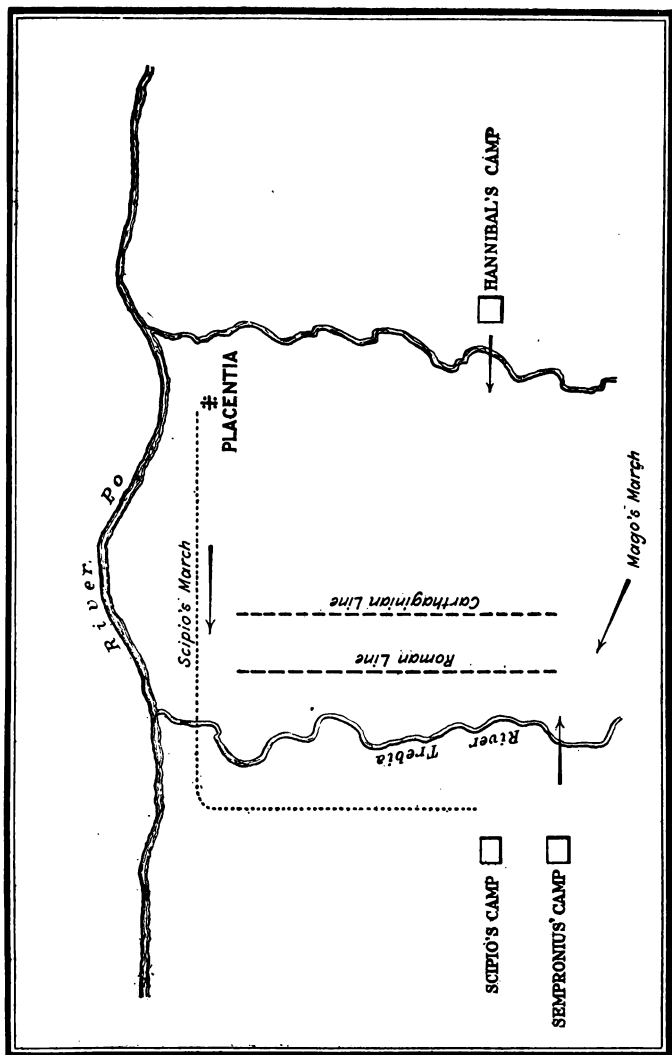
1. **declarabat**: the subject is found in the expression *consules (oppositi) et quidquid . . . erat . . . oppositum*. Another instance of a combination of substantive and participle, where the participle takes the place of the abstract noun. A. 497. There is also an economy of expression, for Livy here states two facts, that both consuls were opposed to Hannibal and it was evident that the Roman government, etc. . . . — **quidquid . . . erat**: simply a way of saying "all the Roman strength."

2. **Tamen**: *i.e.* notwithstanding this formidable opposition to Hannibal. — **consul alter**: Scipio, not named but easily recognized. — **minutus**: *disheartened*. Contrast this with the speech in Chap. 40. Some read *animi minutus* and compare *animus minuit*, Chap. 50. 4. The Mss. have *et minutus* and Madvig suggests *admonitus*.

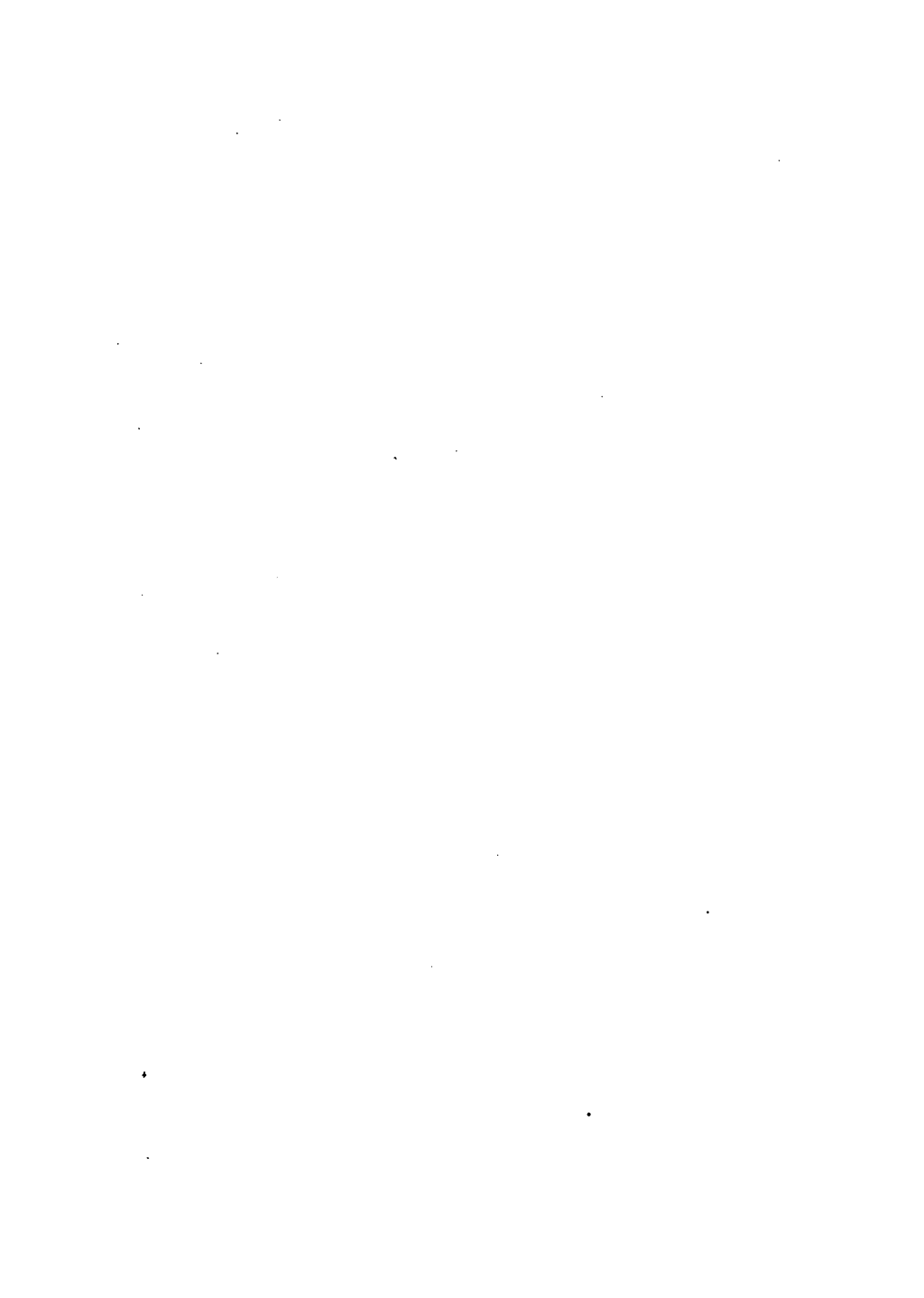
3. **incolebant**: what is the object? — **spectantes**: in this word is found the principal idea of the sentence and *incolebant* gives the subordinate idea. We should expect *Galli qui incolebant spectabant*.

4. **modo ne**: G. 573 n. 2. A. 528. *provided that . . . not*. — **moverent**: the subject is Galli. — **aequo**: with *animo*. — **satis**: rather weakening *aequo*. The meaning is, "were quite well satisfied but the Carthaginian was greatly disturbed."

5. **ob eam iram**: = *eius rei iram, on account of anger at this*, Chap.



BATTLE OF TREBIA



5. 4. *quo metu*. — *equites*: this is particularized by *Numidas plerosque et mixtos quosdam Gallos*. — *quosdam*: Livy frequently uses *quidam* for *aliquot* or *nonnulli*. — *deinceps*: adverb as adjective; local in force, it holds an attributive position between *omnem* and *agrum*, i.e. all (the different parts of) the country in succession.

6. *cum*: concessive. — *ad id: temporis*. — *ab auctoribus*: with *declinant*, turn aside.

7. *ut obsolevisent*: concessive. — *Boiorum perfidiam*: Chap. 25. 2 and 7.

8. *Sempronius*: opposed to *Cornelio* in preceding sentence as indicated by the adverb *contra*. — *primos . . . defensos*: the defense of those who first needed help. Here the participle suggests the abstract noun as *oppositum* does in § 1.

9. *mille*: adjective agreeing with *iaculatoribus*, the ablative, on which *peditum* depends. — *trans Trebiam*: if we accept the view that the Romans were now encamped on the west side, then the direction would be from west to east; if on the other hand we believe that the Romans were encamped on the east, the direction will be the reverse. There is a like uncertainty as to the action referred to in § 3. See discussion of location of battle in preceding chapter.

10. *Sparsos*: this word and *incompositos* agree with *hostes*, the Carthaginians. — *ad hoc*: in addition to this. — *gravis*: agrees with *plerosque*. — *stationes*: outposts. — *fecere*: the subject of this and of *restituere* is *Romani*.

Chapter 53.

1. *maior*: agrees with *victoria* supplied from preceding chapter. — *consuli*: Sempronius. — *videri*: this and *efferi* are historical infinitives. — *qua parte*: cavalry. — *vicisse*: depends on the idea of thinking implied in *gaudio efferi*, which also controls the remainder of the indirect discourse following.

2. *dilatam*: *esse*. G. 280. 2. c. note; A. 486. d. note.

3. *differri*: infinitive, as rhetorical question G. 651. REM. 1. A. 586. B. 315. 2. The verb is used impersonally as in Chap. 21. 2, and *tempus* is the subject of *teri*. Some regard *tempus* = *occasio* and make it also the subject of *differri*.

4. **victis**: dative with *ademptas*. — **cis Hiberum**: a direct modifier of Hispaniam. From the Roman point of view.

5. **ingemiscant**: the more natural construction would be the imperfect denoting contrary to fact, but the present is used as indicating how possible the supposition is. — **circa**: part of the grandiloquence of the speech. Regulus had come near to Carthage but soon met with defeat. — **nos**: opposed to *Poenum*. Note the adversative asyndeton. — **Appenninum**: from *Appenninus*, singular in Latin. — **agri**: partitive genitive with *quod*. — **dicionis**: for genitive see G. 366. REM. 1.

6. **Haec**: object of *agere*, "urged." — **prope contionabundus**: almost as if addressing the soldiers in a speech. — **stimulabat**, emphatic position. — **ne**: from the suggestion of fear in *stimulabat*. — **erat**: we expect the present, because of the partial coextension in the *dum*, there may, however, be an idea of his being busy while and as long as his colleague was ill. G. 570. A. 556. a.

7. **parari**: = *se parare*. **Hannibal**: when the subject of the principal sentence is the same as that of the different clauses, in Latin the subject comes first and the temporal particle second. The contrary is true in English. — **cum**: note the three *cum* clauses. The first two are opposed to each other and the third sums up before the final verb *circumspectare Poenus coepit*.

8. **cuius**: *i.e. gerendae rei*.

9. **ne**: clause depends on *sollicitus* and *intentus*. — **dum**: anaphora of *dum* just as of *cum*, also enumerative asyndeton. — **esset**: subjunctive because of the auxiliary idea, possibly of purpose, or because the thought is that of Hannibal, so on principle of indirect discourse.

11. **facere**: supply *certamen* as object. — **cessaretur**: *ab Romanis*.

12. **ad ea exploranda**: with *tutiores*. — **militabant**: subject is *Galli*. — **Poenus**: Hannibal.

Chapter 54.

1. **in medio**: *i.e.* between the two armies, or between Hannibal's camp and the river. — **rivus**: not admitting of identification, for there are many streams of this kind. — **circa**: = *utrimque*, on both banks. See *circa Padum*, Chap. 25. 2. — **equites tegendo**: the

dative of the gerund with adjectives denoting fitness and function is common in Livy, but here is the only instance in classical prose of an accusative following such a gerund. G. 429. 2. note 2. — *erit*: *this you will find to be the place*. Note the character of this future and find other instances.

2. *centenos*: distributive, both *pedites* and *equites*.

3. *praetorium*: here "a council of war" from the place where it is held, elsewhere "the general's tent," or again, as in Chap. 53. 6, the space in front of the tent. — *missum*: compare the phrase *concilio dimisso*. — *robora virorum*: abstract for concrete, *choice troops*. — *turmis*: *turmae* are divisions of the cavalry, one tenth of an *ala*, so thirty men; and the *manipuli* of the infantry, which were one third of a cohort or one thirtieth of a legion.

4. *iniecto certamine*: *having started the battle*, supply *hosti*. — *citra flumen*: to Hannibal's side of the river.

6. *ad tumultum*: compare *ad famam*, "at the report," Chap. 41. 3. — *ab destinato consilio*: this is the causal ablative with *ab* = *in consequence of*, G. 408. 6.

7. *brumae*: derived from *brevissima*; supply *dies*, so denoting winter.

8. *ad hoc*: *in addition to this*, i.e. besides the cold weather. Compare Chap. 52. 10. — *quidquid*: adverbial accusative, with an intransitive verb, so *in so far as they approached the air of the river*. *quanto propius . . . eo acrior*. — *acrior*: translate as adverb.

9. *Ut vero*: introducing a climax. — *refugientes*: with *Numidas*. — *erat*: subject is *aqua*. — *aucta*: gives the reason for *pectoribus tenuis*. — *utique*: *at any rate*, correcting the *tum* and modifying *egressis*. — *rigere*: historical infinitive, so *deficere* with which it is connected by *et simul*.

Chapter 55.

1. The historian now turns to the Carthaginian side; hence *Hannibalis* is opposed to *Sempronius*, Chap. 54. 6. — *ignibus factis*: note the number of ablatives absolute.

2. *levemque aliam armaturam*: some omit the *que* and *aliam* and the expression is then in apposition with *Baliares*, and the total light-armed troops would be known as the *Baliares*, numbering

eight thousand, which is certainly extraordinary. Others read *ac levem armaturam*. — *dein*: local. — *quod virium*: *the strength and stay of his army*. Note the difference between *vires* and *robora*. — *in cornibus*: the usual place for the cavalry. — *circumfudit*: he places the cavalry on the wings, around the infantry, so the sentence is *circumfudit equitum decem milia (peditibus)*, i.e. on his flanks he placed ten thousand cavalry. — *ab cornibus*: means ordinarily "on the wings," but here set off against *in cornibus*, so gives the idea of "in front of the wings" like *ab extremis cornibus* in Chap. 55. 7. — *in utramque partem*: *on both sides*, i.e. arranged in two divisions.

3. *receptui*: the final dative, the use of which is extended in Livy. See also *signum ad*, Chap. 27. 7.

4. *duodeviginti*: five legions with an average of 3600 men in each. — *Romana*: for the more usual *Romanorum*. — *socium*: archaic form used in formulaic and technical expressions such as this; also in words denoting coins or measures. This ending of the genitive is not a contraction of *-orum*. — *nominis Latini*: this refers to the partial citizenship granted originally to the people of Latium by the Romans. Those allies subsequently admitted according to the same agreement (*ius Latinum*) were styled *socii nominis Latini*.

5. *cum*: *when*. — *maiore*: greater than they could stand.

6. *quae res*: *a maneuver which*. — *resisterent*: the subjects are *quattuormilia* and *fessi*. Note the chiasmus. — *integris plerisque*: the Numidians had already been engaged. Chap. 54. 4. 5; 55. 3. — *insuper*: *still further*. — *coniecta*: the participle with the figurative word rather than with *iaculorum*.

7. *eminentes*: *towering high*. Others take it closely with *ab cornibus* and render it *projecting* or *extending beyond the flanks*. — *maxime*: with *equis*.

8. The preceding sections describe the flight of the cavalry, but now the historian turns to the *pugna pedestris*. — *recentis*: agrees with *quas*. — *ieiuna*: *fasting*. This word is cognate with *ientare* (*ieiunito*) = *to fast* and *ientaculum* = *breakfast*. — *tamen*: notwithstanding the conditions just described. — *animis*: ablative of means, i.e. by their courage alone.

9. *et*: the three particles connect the words indicating the three

forms of attack upon the Roman infantry. — *iaculabantur*: deponent verb. — *simul*: = *simul ac*.

10. *Tamen*: notwithstanding all that has gone before, summed up in the word *malis*. — *maxime*: taken either with *praeter spem* which it adjoins or *adversus elephantos*.

11. *eos*: this is the object of *avertere* and *fodiebant* of which *velites* is the subject. — *velites*: Livy refers to light-armed skirmishers by a technical term which was not applicable until 211 B.C., another instance of anachronism. — *maxime*: may modify *qua* or *molli cute*, perhaps purposely ambiguous in use. — *molli cute*: ablative absolute denoting cause.

Chapter 56.

1. *Trepidantis*: with *consternatos*, agreeing with *elephantos*, the subject of *agi*. — *in suos*: after *consternatos*, i.e. driven in terror upon their own men. — *in extremam*: supply *aciem*. The expression is defined by *ad sinistrum cornu*. — *haud dubiam*: a contemptible assignment of the rout to the Gauls. — *ut*: *when*.

2. *in orbem*: we would say "in a square." The accusative is used because the progress of the fight led to this form in which they are now engaged. It is the final accusative, for they endeavored to secure this form so as to withstand the attacks of the cavalry. — *decem milia*: subject of *perrupere*. — *firmata erat*: subject is *acies*.

3. *recto itinere*: this supports the theory that the battle was fought on the east side of the Trebia. Those who hold the other view have difficulty in accounting for the crossing of the river by the Romans, as neither Livy nor Polybius mentions the crossing.

4. *Plures eruptiones*: *many attempts to break through*.

5. *qui*: the antecedent is taken up by *alii* and *aliis*. — *passim*: opposed to *flumen petiere*, § 4. — *contendere*: perfect tense. — *transgressi*: agrees with the subject of *pervenerunt*, which is found in *aliis*.

6. *vis frigoris*: see Chap. 54. 9. — *homines*: the Carthaginians, as is shown by *elephantos*.

8. *Trebiam traicerent*: this again indicates that the Roman camp was on the west side of the river.

9. *sensere*: subject is *Poeni*. — *dissimularunt*: *pretended they*

did not see. This verb means to conceal something that exists, while *simulo* means to feign something that does not exist. This passage many believe was inserted by Livy to give glory to Scipio, who appears just in time to obtain a little fame. Critics think that the ready crossing, the supineness of the Carthaginians, the remarkable activity of wounded Scipio, and the fact that Polybius is silent in regard to these details, all point to a Roman and very much biased source, favoring Scipio above Sempronius, perhaps Coelius Antipater.

Chapter 57.

NEWS AT ROME. HANNIBAL'S SKIRMISHES

1. **Romam**: the important word at the beginning. — **terror**: subject of *perlatus est*. Note the economy of expression, for two facts are referred to, the news was brought to Rome and terror was aroused. — **iam**: with *venturum* as indicating that this was the immediate plan of the Carthaginians. — **Romanam**: for variety after *Romam*.

2. **revocatum**: *esse*, depending on verb of saying implied in *crederent*. See Chap. 51. 5. — **quos . . . esse**: rhetorical question, so infinitive.

3. **territis**: ablative absolute with *iis*, its subject, omitted. Others regard this as a dative with *advenit*. — **periculo**: note the various ablatives with *transgressus*.

4. **quod**: refers to *comitiis consularibus habitis*. — **praesentia**: abl., *under the present circumstances*. — **comitia**: held to elect consuls for the official year beginning March 217, the month in which the consuls took office up to B.C. 153 when a change was made to January. — **et**: this particle is regularly omitted when the names of consuls indicate date, and in the announcement of elections. See Chap. 15. 5. 6.

5. **Romanis**: dative of reference. The Romans were at Placentia and Cremona. — **ut**: *wherever*. — **quaeque**: in place of *quidque*. The plural of *quisque* is used regularly in place of the singular only when the pronoun is associated with a superlative or neuter, = *si qua loca*. — **iis**: = *equitibus*. — **Celtiberis**: the Spanish troops were more accustomed to uneven country. — **subveherent**: subjunctive of repetition.

6. **Emporium**: a market place or river port for Placentia. It is not a proper noun. — **plurimum**: with *spei* and the object of *habuisset*. — **ad effectum**: for accomplishing his purpose. — **adortus**: concessive.

7. **consul**: Scipio. Sempronius' return is indicated in Chap. 59. 2. — **agmine quadrato**: the line on the march but ready for fighting, so *in fighting order*.

8. **interim**: between the time of the arrival of the cavalry and of the infantry. — **in quo**: in this cavalry skirmish, with *sau-cius*.

9. **inde**: after this.

10. **emporium**: storehouse. — **Gallico bello**: the war of 225-222 B.C. when the Gauls attempted to invade Central Italy and when Roman occupation was accomplished by the placing of colonies at Cremona and Placentia. — **inde**: from that time. — **mixti**, with *accolae*. — **undique**: may be taken with *frequentaverant* and *mixti*, purposely ambiguous.

11. **defensi**: the perf. participle in agreement with the noun is in place of the abstract noun and the genitive. — **ad Placentiam**: near Placentia. A prepositional phrase as attribute. — **praesidi**: as in § 8 the *fortified post*, in § 13 below it means *garrison*.

12. **magis agmina**: rather as a line on the march than as a battle line they met him on the road. — **in via**: they did not form in battle array.

14. **ulla**: with *clades* = *ullum genus cladis*. — **scribentibus**: the same as *rerum scriptores*. — **adeo**: Livy and later writers use the word to give an explicit reason for what is said before, for *in fact*.

Chapter 58.

HANNIBAL IN THE APENNINES

1. Polybius does not refer to the events described in this and the following chapter. It is noticeable that the language is markedly poetic as, e.g., *ignes* for *fulgura*, *percindente*, *se levare*. The rhetorical effect of the following sequences is noticeable — *primo, dein, tum vero, tandem; tunc constitere, consedere, torpere, procumberent; imber, ignes, vis venti, grandio*. — **erant**: complete coextension, so imperfect. G. 569.

2. **adiuncturus**: future participle expressing purpose.

3. **superaverit**: for sequence see G. 513. A. 287. — **vertice**: caught in the whirlwind.

4. **spiritum**: same as *animam*, the alternate acts of respiration are indicated, *stopped their breath and interfered with respiration*.

5. **strepere**: historical infinitive. — **capiti**: note how the Romans indicated bodily defects with *captus* and appropriate nouns, here *deafened and blinded*; *surdus* and *caecus* would mean simply *deaf and blind*.

6. **tandem**: this indicates the fourth action, *primo* in § 3 indicates the first, *dein* in § 4 the second, *tum* in § 5 the third.

7. **explicare**: the process is that of setting up tents. — **statutum esset**: subjunctive of repeated action.

8. **aqua**: *moisture*. — **tegminibus**: *i.e.* the tents.

10. **movere**: this with *recipere* depends on *coeperunt* obtained from *coeptus est*. — **opem . . . inops**: note the paronomasia.

Chapter 59.

SKIRMISH WITH SEMPRONIUS, DEPARTURE INTO LIGURIA

1. **ad**: adverb = *fere*, as with numerals. — **milia**: *passuum* is here omitted, an approach toward our "mile."

3. **vincerent**: subject is *Romani*, as *res Romana* shows that the thought is of this side.

5. **postquam erat**: the imperfect expresses the action as continued into the time of the principal clause. *After (they saw) that there was no hope*. G. 562.

6. **laxatam**: *esse*. — **recessum**: a noun.

8. **Ab neutra parte**: *on either side not more than six hundred infantry fell and half of that number of the cavalry*.

9. **quam pro**: see Chap. 29. 3. — **equestris ordinis**, anachronism. Livy here uses a term of his own day to describe the *equites equo publico*, who obtained the name from the organization of the cavalry in early days when they were provided with horses at public expense. At the time of the Punic Wars they were no longer cavalry men, but were distinguished persons who were honored by this title. The *equester ordo*, a political body, which belongs to the days after C. Gracchus formed the second order of society and

its members were possessed of at least 400,000 sesterces. They afterward became the body from which the emperors took their officers of administration. — *praefecti sociorum*: these were the *praefecti cohortium sociorum*, who were similar in rank to the tribunes of the legion, as the allied infantry were enrolled in cohorts not in legions.

10. *Lucam*: in Etruria between Pistoria and Pisa. Sempronius may have gone there to block the approach to Rome by this route. Nevertheless the movement seems strange, as the Romans were wintering at Placentia. See Chap. 62. 2 and 15; 63. 1. — *intercepti*: the context indicates that a *Liguribus* is implied. — *senatorum liberis*: the sons of senators were of the equestrian order. — *quo*: because of *magis*. — *traduntur*: a *Liguribus*.

Chapter 60.

THE CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN

1. *dum*: we now return to Chap. 32. 3.

2. *cum*: with *appulisset*. — *Emporias*: modern Ampurias, a Greek town friendly to Rome.

3. *Lacetanis*: people near the Pyrenees. Some scholars suggest that Livy was thinking of the Lacetani near Barcelona. — *dicionis*: note the predicate possessive genitive with *fecit*.

4. *Inde*: from this behavior. — *conciliata*: *acquired*. — *mediterraneis*: neuter plural. — *iam*: progressive use, *growing ever more and more savage*. — *valuit*: with *ad* = *extended to*.

5. *cis*: to north of Ebro, as from Roman point of view. — *alienarentur*: subjunctive because of the idea of intention.

7. *nam*: (*the garrison of the camp*) *for the camp also was stormed*. — *capiuntur*: *dux cum principibus* is the subject, note the plural verb.

8. *pretii*: depends on *rerum*. — *supellex*: in opposition with *praeda*. — *vilius*: not trained. — *mancipiorum*: predicate genitive with *fuit*, "consisted of," parallel to *rerum*.

9. *exercitus*: genitive with *rebus* = *valuables*. — *sed et*: = *sed etiam*. — *citra*: to the south of the Pyrenees as from the point of view of the army starting.

Chapter 61.

DEPARTURE INTO LIGURIA

1. *accideret*: before the news came. For mood see G. 577. This is to be taken closely with *transgressus* and the *postquam* clause goes with *convertit*. — *mille*: an instance of *mille* used substantively and in the ablative case. *Mille* as substantive in nominative and accusative case is more common. G. 293. A. 134. d. note. — *tamquam*: another instance of *tamquam* with the future participle expressing purpose or intention which was not carried out. — *occursurus*: supply *Romanis* from the *Romanorum* placed purposely between *adventum* and *occursurus*. — *perditas res*: *disaster*. Compare *res adversae*.

2. *classicos milites*: *marines*. — *navales socios*: *sailors*. Why is the word *socii* used of these? — *quod*: whatever difficulty exists here is due to the combination of two expressions. *As it generally happens that success produces carelessness (ut ferme fit ut secundae res negligentiam creent)*, and *that which generally happens in time of success (quod ferme fit rebus secundis)*. *Quod* is used purposely so as to avoid another *ut*, and so complicates the sentence, as its antecedent is in what precedes and also in the explanatory clause *ut . . . creent*.

4. in . . . *animadvertisset*: *punished*. — *praefectos navium*: captains as *praefecti classis* = admirals.

5. *Vixdum . . . aderat*: an expression indicating promptness of Hasdrubal's action.

6. *hibernis*: with *excito*. — *toto . . . agro*: with *cedit*, of which the subject is Hasdrubal. — *cum*: *when*. — *Atanagrum urbem*: after *compulsis* and serving likewise as object of the verb *circumsedit*. The preposition *in* is omitted with *urbem* as it follows the name of the town. G. 337. 2. Some supply *eos* after *circumsedit*.

8. *prope Hiberum*: Livy's geography is again at fault as the Ausetani lived in the extreme northeast of Spain. — *haud . . . urbe*: = *cum iam haud procul (ab) urbe essent*.

9. *ad*: adverb. *ad duodecim milia* is subject of *caesa*. — *exuti*: middle, *stripping themselves*. — *quam*: i.e. *magis quam*.

10. *minus*: note construction after *minus*, G. 296. 4. — *ignibus*:

coniectis ab hoste. — *etiam tutamentum*: the idea is "this was also the only protection." — *fuert*: consider the sequence.

11. *viginti talentis*: a talent is about \$1200, so nearly \$24,000. — *pacti*: from *paciscor*. Here with ablative of price; *deditionem* is understood. — *deduntur*: middle.

Chapter 62.

PORTENTS AND EXPIATIONS

1. *prodigia*: see Chap. 46. 1. — *facta*: occurred.

2. *nuntitiata (sunt)*: the subjects are the infinitives following. — *temere*: *thoughtlessly*. — *quis*: for *quibus*. G. 105, note 2; A. 150. c.; B. 89. — *foro olitorio*: vegetable market between the Capitoline Hill and the Tiber. — *triumphum*: Horace, Odes, IV. 2. 49 has given us the cry — *Io Triumphe*.

3. *foro boario*: cattle market near the Circus Maximus, southeast of the Forum Holitorium and near the Palatine. — *contignationem*: = *tabulatum*. — *sua sponte*: as opposed to *tumultu*. — *escendisse*: by the stairway which was on the outside of the house.

4. *Lanuvi*: an ancient town near the Alban Mount, having an important temple of Juno Sospita. — *hastam*: originally the spear stood for the divinity as the Romans did not at first place statues in the shrines but symbols. — *pulvinari*: from *pulvinar*. Others read *pulvinario*. A couch in the temple on which images of the gods were placed for their feast, the *lectisternium*.

5. *Amiternino*: Amiternum was an ancient town of the Sabines. — *visos esse*: the subject is in the *hominum specie*, "beings of human form." The *specie* is ablative of quality. In Book 24. 10. 10 we find *hominum species visas*, but the other expression is more indefinite and vague as Livy intends it to be. — *Caere*: ablative of the nominative Caere, a town of Etruria of very ancient history. — *sortes*: tablets of wood on which words and symbols were drawn, the chance combination of which formed oracles. These oracles were located in various towns as Caere, Falerii, and Praeneste. — *extenuatas*: supply *esse*: = *shrunk, contracted*, a sign of bad omen.

6. *libros*: *Sibyllinos*. These books containing Greek verses

were kept in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and were consulted at times of great calamities. The introduction of the Sibylline books meant the entrance of foreign gods and rites into Rome. They were placed in the hands of the *decemviri sacris faciundis*, a collegium of five patricians, five plebeians. Afterward there were fifteen members. — *novemdiale sacrum*: a nine days' religious celebration, *feriae*, the usual process of expiation. The nine days marked the week for the Romans, as they counted eight days in their week. — *subinde*: *in succession*. — *alii procurandis*: dative with *operata fuit*. — *operata*: a participle from *operor* belonging to religious phraseology.

7. *editum est*: *i.e. ex libris Sibyllinis*. Supply *ut caederentur*. — *diis*: incorporated in relative sentence.

8. *pondo*: indeclinable. It is an exponent indicating the measure. — *quadraginta*: supply *libris*. — *matronae*: subject of *dedicaverunt*. — *attenuatae*: same as *extenuatae*. — *Algidus*: supply *monte*.

9. *Iuventati*: wife of Hercules, identified with Hebe. — *nominatim*: especially opposed to *circa omnia pulvinaria*, for here the two divinities are specifically mentioned. — *indicta*: the subject is *supplicatio*. — *Genio*: *populi Romani*. The state had its *genius*, just as each man had his counterpart divinity (*genius*) and a woman her *Iuno*.

10. *praetor*: because the consuls were with their armies. — *stetisset*: pluperfect subjunctive in indirect discourse. The verb was *steterit* in the vow, the form of which would be — *promitto me vota soluturum si res publica steterit*.

11. *vota*: a participle. — *levaverant*: pluperfect; as the author is writing of occurrences of the winter already passed. We might paraphrase thus — by the time these ceremonies and vows had been performed, men's minds had been greatly relieved.

Chapter 63.

GAIUS FLAMINIUS

1. *Consulum*: see Chap. 57. 4. — *Flaminius*: the career of this man is that of a leader opposed to the aristocracy and an earnest supporter of the people. As *tribunus plebis* in 232 he passed in the *comitia tributa* a law distributing lands in Umbria and Picenum

to the plebeians. Then in 227 he was in charge of Sicily where he made a wise governor. In 223 he was in command of an army against the Insubres, and won a victory, although just before the battle he had received summons to return to Rome because of some irregularity in the auspices. In 218 by the law of Q. Claudius he interfered with the wide extension of mercantile business on the part of senators. He was elected as consul in 217 to take command against Hannibal. — **Placentiae**: in Chap. 59. 10 the army under Sempronius was said to have gone to Luca; yet here we find it at Placentia. Evidently Livy's statement as to Luca is incorrect. — **sorte**: here the assignment of armies is by lot, as there is no designation of provinces.

2. hic: at Ariminum. — **consilium erat**: *Flaminio*. — **quae**: object of *habuerat*. — **qui**: *consulatus*. — **abrogabatur**: imperfect denoting intention, — *from which it was intended he should withdraw*. He could not be expelled, but might be persuaded to withdraw because of trouble with the auspices. — **triumpho**: not allowed to Flaminius in spite of his victory over the Insubres.

3. novam: *recent*. This matches *veterum certaminum* in § 2. Some render *novam*, *revolutionary*. — **uno patrum**: for the genitive and the more usual construction see G. 372. REM. 2. — **cuive . . . pater**: *whose father was a senator*. — **amphorarum**: about seven gallons, used as a measure, as oil and wine were the goods transported in *amphorae* on the trading ships. Monte Testaccio in Rome near the Emporium on the bank of the Tiber is a hill one hundred feet high composed entirely of broken amphorae. Three hundred amphorae would mean about eight tons or somewhat less.

4. habitum: *est, was regarded*. — **patribus**: with *indecorus*. All profit in trade seemed discreditable to senators.

5. ementiendis: *falsifying the omens*; a neutral expression evidently meaning, *declaring them unfavorable*. — **mora**: delay caused by holding the Latin festival of the Latin League on the Alban Mount. It was the duty of the newly elected consuls to set the day and lead in the religious exercises, offering sacrifices to Jupiter Latialis. — **impedimentis**: *hindrances*, possible through the insertion of all the formalities of the early consulate. — **privatus**: not in office nor with official form.

6. *gerere*: infinitive in indirect discourse, depending on a verb of saying implied in the preceding sentence.

7. *inauspicato*: see outline of Flaminius' career above. — *spretorum*: *deorum atque hominum*, obtained from the preceding sentence and opposed to *revocantibus*. — *Capitolium*: the inauguration of the consul consisted of his taking the auspices at his home, the assumption of the *toga praetexta*, then the procession to the Capitol, the sacrifices of the white steers vowed in the preceding year and the assumption of new vows (*votorum nuncupatio*). Then followed the meeting of the Senate and the discussion as to religion and state matters.

8. *Latinas*: *ferias*. — *monte*: *Albano*.

9. *paludatus*: putting on the *paludamentum*, for the assumption of this cloak indicated that the consul became a military commander but the *praetexta* indicated civil authority. — *Lixae modo*: like a camp follower. — *profectum*: *esse*. — *solum vertisset*: as if he were departing from his country. The usual expression for going into exile, as *verto* here means "to change."

10. *videlicet*: an ironical expression, like *scilicet*. Note their origin, *videre licet* and *scire licet*. — *imperii*: with *maiestate*.

11. *censuerunt*: the technical word for a vote in the Senate. — *cogendum*: the climax. — *omnibus*: with *officiis* upon which *in deos hominesque* depends.

12. *in*: with accusative expressing purpose.

13. *Paucos post dies*: G. 403. note 4.

14. *procul*: opposed to *circumstantes*.

15. *Sempronio*: according to this chapter § 1, his two legions had wintered at Placentia and yet in Chap. 59. 10 Livy says Sempronius went to Luca in Etruria. This movement to Luca — if it occurred at all — must have taken place after the wintering at Placentia. Flaminius is said to have taken command at Ariminum and then the army was led into Etruria. So that according to Livy the army marched from Luca to Ariminum and then back again over the Apennines. If we omit the march to Luca, the order of events is consistent. Some suggest that Flaminius may have taken command at Arretium and not at Ariminum. — *est coeptus*: as Flaminius is logically the subject of the ablative absolute we should expect *exercitum ducere coepit*.

BOOK XXII

Chapter I.

HANNIBAL LEAVES HIS WINTER QUARTERS, PRODIGIES

1. **Iam ver**: the spring of 217 B.C. In Book 21. 58. 2, Hannibal is said to have led his army into Etruria at the first sign of spring. Apparently he was baffled, *nequiquam ante conatus*, by his experience in the Apennines, as in Chap. 59. 1, he returns to the vicinity of Placentia. At the opening of this book he sets out again probably from Placentia, for although he is said in Chap. 59. 10 to have gone into Liguria, the authority for this is very unsatisfactory, and events of the entire chapter are questioned. They were probably taken from some annalist, for they are not given by Polybius. — **ex hibernis**: at Placentia, as indicated above. — **movit**: absolute, as *ducit*. — **frigoribus**: ablative absolute explaining *nequiquam conatus*. — **moratus**: the form of the sentence is *et conatus et moratus*. This was Hannibal's reason for starting early. — **metu**: explained by what follows.

2. **Galli**: subject of *verterunt*. — **postquam**: followed by *videre* perf. indicative. — **pro eo ut**: in place of their plundering. — **raperent agerentque**: technical expression, usually *ferre agere*.

3. **petitus**: i.e. Hannibal. — **ipsorum . . . fraude**: treachery toward one another. Join this with *servatus erat*. — **levitate**: with *indicantium*, which agrees with *ipsorum*. — **tegumenta**: wigs. Polybius, in 3. 78, refers to this as another evidence of Phoenician strategy. — **errore**: possibility of mistake, uncertainty as to his person. — **etiam**: with *errore*.

4. **ceterum**: compare 21. 2. 6 notes. — **per idem tempus**: the time is *ver* in § 1. — **Romae**: Flaminius entered his consulship at Ariminum, — according to 21. 63. 1 and 2, — where his army was ordered to meet him. — **idibus Martiis**: this was the beginning

of the political year at Rome, but because of irregularities in the calendar had actually moved back to January of the natural year, and hence did not correspond to the spring referred to in § 1, as suggested in *per idem tempus*.

5. *rettulisset*: *referre de* is the technical expression for submitting a question on which opinions are desired. *When he had submitted the question of the interests of the state for discussion*. This was probably not the first motion, for *res divinae* had preference over *res publicae*. This is mentioned in Chap. 9. 7 below and probably had preference, although not stated here.—*redintegrata*: for the career of Flaminius, see Book 21. 63.—*se*: *populum*.—*creasse*: infinitive depending on idea of thinking in *invidia*.—*quod . . . iustum*: *what legal authority*. His *imperium* was not regular, *iustum*, because he had left Rome before taking part in the formal acts, such as the passing of the *lex curiata de imperio* which had to do with the conferring of the *imperium* on the *consul* by the thirty *lictors* representing the old thirty *curiae* who conferred royal authority on the kings. The traditional formality was important in its significance.—*auspicium*: *religious confirmation*, obtained through the auspices. Flaminius was *consul inauspicato factus*.—*esse*: infinitive, as a rhetorical question depending on idea of saying and thinking in *invidia*.

6. *magistratus*: accusative plural, subject of *ferre*.—*id*: *this sanction*, directly referring to *auspicium*; but including the entire expression *iustum imperium . . . auspicium*.—*publicis*: *i.e.* of the state as opposed to *penates*, of the family.—*Latinis . . . actis*: note the three ablatives absolute describing three important parts of the ceremony. See another enumeration, Book 21. 63. 7–9.—*Monte*: *Albano*.

7. *privatum*: opposed to *magistratus*.—*auspicia*: subject of *sequi* = *accompany*.—*nec sine auspiciis*: *nor can a private citizen setting out without the auspices take these in due form (concupere) for the first time and with full significance in a strange land*. Some render *nova*, *anew from the beginning*, *i.e.* as a new thing, without consideration of the history of the city.—*prodigia*: many of these can be identified with familiar natural phenomena.

8. *militibus*: dative of personal interest, which is characteristic of Livy's style. It is common in the poets and arises from the

emotional character of poetry. It may be translated by a genitive. G. 350; A: 376. — *spicula*: subject of *arsisse* as also *scipionem*. The infinitive is due to indirect discourse after *nuntiata*. The phenomenon may have been electromagnetic. — *scipionem*: the Romans used such words for their cognomina, so *Cicero*.

9. *ictos*: the more usual expression is *de caelo tactus*. — *orbem minui*: a partial eclipse. *Deficere* is the usual word. — *Praeneste*: the more common form of the locative in Livy. The modern Palestrina. — *lapides*: *meteors*. — *caelo*: the construction of the local ablative without a preposition, common in Livy. — *Arpis*: town of *Arpi* in Apulia.

10. *Capenae*: in Etruria, now S. Martino. — *interdiu*: *in the daytime*. — *Caeretes*: adjective from Caere, name of town in Etruria noted for its hot springs. — *cruentis*: from *cruentus*. — *Antii*: town in Latium on the coast noted for its temple of Fortuna, now Porto d'Anzio. — *metentibus*: for the dative see *militibus*, § 8. The word stands for *messoribus*.

11. *Faleriis*: *Falerii* in Etruria near the Latium line. — *sortes*: Book 21. 62. 5. — *sua sponte*: *through no external influence*. — *Mavors*: old name of Mars.

12. *lanae*: the Mss. read *lunae*.

13. *dictu*: with *minoribus*, *less worthy of mention*. — *fides habita*: *people began to believe in*. — *quibusdam*: the same dative as *metentibus* above, *some people's goats became sheep*. — *factas*: *esse*.

14. *sicut*: *just as they had been originally described*. — *expositis*: by the presiding officer, the consul.

15. *maioribus*: *full grown*, opposed to *lactentibus*, *suckling so young*.

16. *cetera*: subject of *fierent*. — *libros*: *Sibyllinos* kept by the *decemviri*. They contained Greek verses indicating suitable ceremonies for averting the anger of the gods. — *ut*: *i.e. decretum est ut*. — *cordi esse*: *is pleasing*. G. 356; A. 382. 1; B. 191. 2. — *praeferantur*: subject is *decemviri*.

17. *fulmen*: apposition to *donum*. — *pondo*: *in weight*, the word is indeclinable and is an exponent indicating the measure. — *quinquaginta*: with *librarum* understood. — *sacrificaretur*: impersonal.

18. *et ipsae*: as well as the *matronae*. — *unde*: pronominal, *ex qua pecunia*. — *Feroniae*: the goddess of emancipation. Her shrines were located in the Campus Martius in Rome, at the foot of Mt. Soracte, at Tarracina and elsewhere.

19. *Ardeae*: in Latium, the seat of a temple of Aphrodite. — *Decembri*: apposition to *mense*. 217 B.C. — *aedem*: the familiar temple at the west end of the Forum. — *lectum*: used in the *lectisternium* just referred to.

20. *Saturnalia*: *clamata (sunt)*. The cry was *Io Saturnalia*. See Book 21. 62. The Saturnalia was celebrated for one day as an old Italian festival, as early as 497 B.C., but now it was given greater importance perhaps because of the addition of the *convivium* and the *lectisternium* as directed by the Sibylline books, which were of Greek origin. Here was a combination of a foreign religion and that of ancient Rome. Julius Caesar gave three days to the celebration.

Chapter 2.

THE CARTHAGINIANS IN THE MARSHES OF THE ARNO

1. *dilectu*: dative. — *profectus*: goes back to Chap. 1. 1, where in a few words Livy refers to the attempt to go over the Apennines, described so minutely in Book 21. 58. Hannibal's aim was Arretium. He could reach the place by several passes of the Apennines; of two of these one is said to be more convenient but longer; the other, nearer. Just which routes these were we cannot say. He selected that route, however, which was more direct and which finally led over the marshes of the Arno. In Chap. 3. 6, he refers to Faesulae as the place which he reached after crossing the marshes. Does Livy mean that this shorter route was over the Apennines, or over the swamp, or a combination of the two? Some question whether the swamp is that of the Arno, and suggest the Po, as Strabo (v. 1) says, and others believe. — *ex hibernis*: near Placentia and Cremona.

2. *qua*: adverb. This clause modifies *propriorem viam petit*. — *solito magis*: G. 398, n. 1; A. 406. a. — *inundaverat*: *had overflowed*.

3. **Hispanos et Afros**: subject of *ire*. Note the order and arrangement of troops. — **et omne robur**: *and in fact all the flower*, as *robur* includes the Hispani and Afri. — **exercitus**: genitive. This is opposed to *Gallos*, who were placed next in line. — **necubi**: = *ne alicubi*. This word is composed of *ne* and *cubi*, the original form of *ubi*. — **consistere**: depends on *coactis*, *if they were compelled to halt*. — **Gallos**: subject of *sequi*. — **id**: stands for *ii*, agreeing as is usual with the predicate. — **medium agminis**: Livy often uses the neuter adjective with the genitive in place of the more familiar noun and attributive adjective.

4. **novissimos**: *as the rear guard*. — **Numidis**: the Numidian cavalry. — **mollis ad**: *incapable of enduring*. Compare *rudis ad* and *piger ad* in Book 21. 25. — **dilaberentur**: *if they should attempt to slip away*, the conative use. — **cohibentem**: present participle with a future sense.

5. **Primi**: the *veterani*. — **praeirent**: subjunctive of indefinite repetition. It is also restrictive here, for they are said to go only *if* and *where* the guides lead. — **praealtas**: a polar word meaning either *very high* or *very deep*; here the latter. — **profundas**: the stronger word as shown by the use of *ac* which often adds a stronger expression — *so in the deep and almost bottomless pools of the river, wallowing in the mud and plunging into the water*. — **tamen**: notwithstanding their struggles. This indicates that *hausti* is concessive.

7. **alii . . . alii**: taking up the word *Galli*. — **procubuissent**: subjunctive of indefinite repetition. — **vigiliae**: *lack of sleep wore them out*.

8. **aquis**: abl. abs. — **sicco**: the substantive use of the adjective. — **sarcinis**: dative. Compare *caetris*, Book 21. 27.

9. **iumentorum**: with *acervi*, the subject of *dabant*. — **tantum**: here without the corresponding *quantum*, object of *quaerentibus*, i.e. *for those seeking only something which should stand above the water*.

10. **aeger oculis**: suffering with ophthalmia. — **primum**: we expect a *deinde* to follow. The first cause is the *verna intemperies*, the second is in *vigiliis . . . caelo*, but before the second is given the author introduces *elephanto vectus*, the means taken to help and relieve which were unsuccessful. Therefore *tamen* follows instead of *deinde*.

11. **unus**: see Book 21. 58. 11. — **quo**: for *ut* because of comparative. — **tamen**: although carried up on high. — **caelo**: the climate. — **gravante**: abl. abs. of cause with a *quia* clause added. — **altero**: one of his eyes. Nepos, *Han.* 4, says the right eye. See Juvenal, *Satires*, 10. 157. — **oculo capitur**: see Book 21. 58. 5.

Chapter 3.

HANNIBAL LURES FLAMINIUS TO BATTLE

1. **foede**: miserably, hardly ingloriously because of *iumentis*. — **de**: *emerge* is regularly followed by *ex* or the simple ablative. — **certum habuit**: = *certior factus est*. See Book 21. 43. 16, for the Ciceronian *pro certo habere* which Livy uses also. — **circa**: about.

2. **consulis . . . consilia**: paronomasia. — **ad commeatus expediendos**: with *copias*, which means *resources*. — **in rem erat**: it was advantageous. An idiomatic expression found in the poets, also in Sallust and Livy. — **inquiendo**: by diligent inquiry he investigated; a strong expression indicating the extreme care of Hannibal.

3. **Regio**: the details discovered by Hannibal are now given in irregular order. — **Italiae**: depends on *primis (regionibus)*, one of the most fertile in Italy. — **Faesulas**: the modern Fiesole near Florence. The country between this town and Arretium is not remarkably fertile, and Livy is again careless or has in mind a town to the south of Arretium. — **inter**: anastrophe common in poetry but not in prose until Livy. — **frumenti**: with *copia*; so also *pecoris* and *rerum*. — **et omnium**: and in fact of all things. — **opulenti**: agrees with *campi*.

4. **consul ferox**: another detail obtained by Hannibal's inquiry referring to *animum*, § 2. — **ab consulatu**: as a result of the consulship, or perhaps temporal since his consulship. — **non modo**: supply *non*. G. 482. 5; R. 1; A. 217. e; B. 343. 2 a. — **legum aut patrum maiestatis . . . deorum**, the genitives follow *metuens*, — a poetic construction due to the substantive idea, *metus*, in the participle. G. 375; A. 349. b; B. 204. 1. a. The *legum* refers to acts of the people, the *patrum* to the senate. — **ingenio**: depends on *insitam* as opposed to the spirit engendered by his success. — **civilibus**: his acts as a statesman in assigning Gallic territory to Roman settlers and his opening up of this section by the construction of the Via Flaminia. — **bellicis**: his victory over the Insubres in 223 B.C.

5. **quoque**: *i.e. quo et*, where *quo* is for *ut*.

6. **laeva**: *leaving the enemy on the left, he marched to Faesulae*. According to Livy, Hannibal is just emerging from the marshes and, leaving his enemy on the left, seeks Faesulae, devastating the central plain of Etruria. It is very difficult to trace such a route as this. We may suppose that Hannibal came down from the Apennines to the east of Faesulae, passed through the marshes of the upper Arno toward Faesulae and toward the country between Faesulae and Arretium, which he refers to as very fertile. Arretium, the headquarters of Flaminius, would then be to the left. Some suggest that Livy had another town in mind, farther to the south. — **praedatum**: supine expressing purpose.

7. **quieto hoste**: protasis of *quieturus erat*. — **ferri agique**: compare *rapere agere*, Chap. 1. 2. — **suum**: *i.e. of Flaminius*. — **ad ipsa oppugnanda**: depends on *ire*.

8. **ceteris**: masc., opposed to *Flaminius*, which holds a position of emphasis at the beginning of the sentence. — **salutaria suadentibus**: explained by the infinitives *expectandum (esse)* and *hostem cohibendum (esse)*. The outline of this sentence is *Flaminius . . . suum id dedecus ratus . . . ceteris . . . suadentibus . . . iratus se proripuit*. In translating render *ratus* as the main verb of the first part and *proripuit* as the main verb of the second part. — **collegam**: Servilius.

9. **signum**: *itineris*, sounded on the *tuba*. — **pugnaeque**, by the red flag (*vepillum*) displayed at headquarters.

10. **Immo**: *no indeed*, introducing a sarcastic substitute for the advice of those who opposed him. — **nec**: = *et ne*. — **move-ri-mus**: perf. with *ne* used as imperative; uncommon except in the second person. — **Camillum**: in 390 B.C. he was summoned from Ardea, where he was in banishment, on the invasion of the Gauls. He proceeded to Veii, and taking command there of the army marched to Rome. See Book 5. 46. 7. — **acciverint**: future perfect indicative.

11. **simul increpans**: *when at the same moment he shouted these words, ordered the standards to be torn up quickly and leaped upon his horse . . .* — **ocius**: comparative used as positive, which is lacking. — **caput**: of the horse.

12. **circa**: see Book 21. 9. 5. — **velut**: *on the ground that this*

was an evil omen. This is the opinion of the bystanders. — **incipiendae rei**: with *omen*, i.e. *for the beginning of the campaign*.

13. **quoque**: as in the campaign against the Insubres, Book 21. 63. 12.

14. **agmen**: subject of *coepit*. — **primoribus**: *the officers*. — **super quam**: *beyond the fact that*. — **duplici**: the fall from the horse and the impossibility of pulling up the standards. Of these the latter was more serious. — **milite in vulgus**: *the soldiers in general*, opposed to *primoribus*. — **ferocia**: ablative of cause with *laetus*.

Chapter 4.

HANNIBAL'S TRAP FOR FLAMINIUS

1. **Cortonam**: south of Arretium and within eight miles of Lake Trasumennus, now Lago di Perugia or di Trasimeno. This lake is ten miles long and eight miles wide. — **hosti**: dative of personal interest.

2. **maxime**: with *ubi*, *just where*. — **subit**: *comes up close to*. — **interest**: *intervenes*. — **ad id ipsum**: *for this purpose*, i.e. *for a road*. — **inde**: from the plain.

3. **ibi**: i.e. *where the hilly ground rises*. — **ubi** = *ut ibi*. — **modo**: *only* = *tantum*. — **post montes**: behind the hills where they could not be seen. — **fauces saltus**: *entrance of the defile*. — **tumulis**: *where the hills protected them*.

4. **inexplorato**: *without reconnoitering*. Livy often uses the participle alone, so *inauspicato*, Book 21. 63 7. In Caesar we find *consulto* and *bipartito*. — **pandi**: *deploy*, middle voice = *se pandere*; for this reason we find *coepit* and not *coeptus est*, which is used with the passive infinitive. — **id . . . hostium**: this refers to the infantry, Africans and Spaniards. — **ab tergo**: *the equites*. — **super caput**: *the light armed, Baliares et levis armatura*.

5. **clausum habuit**: a suggestion of the later use of this verb as auxiliary. The expression gives the idea of continuance — *shut in and held them in*.

6. **campo**: local abl. without *in*, so *montibus*. — **sederat**: used as pluperf. of *sido*, *sidere*. — **conspecta**: *visible*; the participle is used as an adjective. — **pariter**: *in unison*.

7. **cerneret**: for this and the other subjunctives in this sentence

see G. 577; A. 551. b; B. 292. — *latera*: *flank*. — *expediri*: *to be prepared or freed for service*.

Chapter 5.

RESISTANCE OF THE ROMANS

1. *ut*: Book 21. 34. 1, *considering that circumstances were terrifying*. — *turbatos*: explained by *vertente . . . quoque*.

2. *inde*: adverb with *evadendum esse*, *you must make your way out of this*. — *ferme*: *in general*.

3. *consilium*: refers to *adhortatur*. — *imperium*: refers to *iubet*, § 1. — *tantum aberat*: G. 552. Rem. 1. *So far were they from recognizing their standards*. — *signa*: their places in the maniples; *ordines*, in the centuries; *locum*, in general. — *pugnae*: dative of purpose with *ad arma . . . aptanda*.

4. *ad*: *at*. — *terrentium*: the Carthaginians. — *paventium*: the terrified Romans. — *circumferebant*: they kept turning their gaze (*ora oculosque*).

5. *Alii*: the soldiers who were fleeing were prevented, and those going toward the battle were hindered. — *globo*: dative with *illati*. — *haerebant*: *were held immovable*.

6. *capti*: *sunt*, in place of the usual *impetum facere*. — *a fronte*: the Spanish and African troops were in front and the Gauls and the cavalry in the rear (*ab tergo*).

7. *quisque*: *factus (est)*. — *illa*: G. 307. 2; A. 297. b; B. 246. 3. — *principes*: these are the three old ranks, but not stated as they were arranged in the early days. Up to 105 B.C. the order was *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*. — *nec*: supply *ita ordinata*. — *antesignani*: those in the first rank, for the *signa* were carried in the second line. The *antesignani* were therefore identical with the *hastati*. Supply *pugnarent*. — *cohorte*: another anachronism, as the cohort formation belonged to the days of Marius, 105 B.C.

8. *ante aut post*: adverbs, *in front or rear*, or supply *signa*. — *ordinem*: *pugnandi*. — *motum terrae*: Cicero refers to this earthquake *de Divinatione*, I. 35. 78, on the authority of Coelius Antipater and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* II. 84. 200. Ovid, *Fasti*, 6. 765, gives the date as June 23 or, by the corrected calendar, the middle of April.

Chapter 6.

DEATH OF FLAMINIUS. ROUT OF THE ROMANS

2. *eum*: governed by *sequebantur*. The sentence is changed abruptly by the introduction of *et ipse . . . ferebat*, but the *insignem* recalls the *eum*. — *robora virorum*: *sturdiest men*.

3. *quoque*: as well as by his armor. — *urbem*: not identified.

4. *manibus*: *departed spirits*. — *equo*: dative with *subditis*, *putting spurs to his horse*. — *infesto venienti*: *making a charge*.

5. *arta*: *defiles*; *praerupta*, *precipices*.

6. *prima vada*: the very edge of the lake. — *progressi*: agreeing in sense with *pars magna*, synesis. — *paludis*: the order is *progressi in aquam paludis*. — *quoad*: *until they had only their heads and shoulders above water*.

7. *capessere*: another poetic usage, the infinitive after *impello*. — *quae fuga*. — *ubi*: *where this was limitless and hopeless*, because the lake was so broad. — *nequiquam*: *fessi*.

8. *ignari*: agreeing with *sex milia*, synesis again. — *agerentur*: subjunctive because of indirect statement. A. 576, note. — *saltu*: the defile to the east at Passignano; as above, Chap. 4. 3, we have the *saltus* at Borghetto on the west.

9. *Inclinata*: *finally when the contest was settled*. The figure is of the scales. — *dispulsa nebula*: the main idea is abstract and in the participle. — *aperuisset*: *brought the day to light*. — *liquida iam luce*: compare *vixdum certa luce*, Chap. 4. 4. — *ostendere*: perf. indicative.

10. *in conspectos*: *against them if they should be seen, or lest they should be seen and the cavalry should be sent*.

11. *extrema*: with *fames*. — *passurum*: supply *se*.

12. *Punica . . . fides*: see Book 21. 4. 9.

Chapter 7.

CONSTERNATION AT ROME

1. *nobilis*: *well known*, the original meaning. — *inter paucas*: = *maxime*, to be taken with *memorata*. — *clades*: with *populi Romani* and subject of *est*.

2. *caesa*: Polybius says that of the Romans 15,000 were killed

and 15,000 captured, but of the Carthaginians only 1500 were killed. — **decem milia**: not mentioned by Polybius, and the natural inference is that almost the entire Roman army was destroyed.

3. **hostium**: Carthaginians. The usual form is *duo milia hostium et quingenti*. G. 293.

4. **nihil . . . ex vano**: *exaggerated to no purpose*. — **quo**: refers to exaggeration, the idea of which immediately precedes. — **scribentium**: *scriptores* and *auctores* used elsewhere by Livy. — **Fabium**: see Introduction. — **aequalem**: *contemporary*.

5. **Hannibal**: in translating begin the sentence with *cum*. — **captivorum**: depends upon *is*, the antecedent of *qui* and subject of the abl. abs. *dimissis*. Here is an instance of a relative sentence serving as the subject of an ablative absolute. The partitive genitive depends on this sentence also. See Book 21. 26. 7; 45. 6; Book 22. 16. 1. — **essent**: subjunctive of indefinite repetition. — **Flamini**: note that Livy says Hannibal ordered them to search for the body of Flaminius, but they did not find it.

6. **Romae**: a remarkable piece of descriptive writing follows. It is picturesque and has a definite rhetorical purpose.

7. **turba**: with *frequentis contionis modo*, like a thronging assembly.

8. **solis occasum**: note the exactness of detail as indicating the anxiety of the people. — **praetor**: *peregrinus*. M. Aemilius was *praetor urbanus*.

10. **casus**: the possible misfortune as indicated in the preceding sentence. — **meruerant**: with *stipendia*, so served.

11. **postero**: *die*. — **deinceps**: *successive*, here attribute of *diebus*. — **utique**: *at least from those whom they knew*. — **inquisissent**: iterative subjunctive. G. 567 note.

12. **cerneres**: indef., second person, in past time, as of the actual spectators. — **gratulantis**: this and *consolantis* are objects of *cerneres*; *circumfusos* agrees with these and governs *redeuntibus*.

13. **sospiti filio**: depends on *oblatam*.

14. **praetores**: four in number after 227 B.C.

Chapter 39.

ADDRESS OF FABIVS

In the intervening chapters 7-39, the events subsequent to the battle of Lake Trasumennus and preceding the battle of Cannae are enumerated in detail. After the battle of Lake Trasumennus Fabius Maximus was appointed dictator and began to dominate the situation. Hannibal moved about through Umbria and Apulia, then through Samnium and Campania, watched at a safe distance by Fabius. This policy of Fabius was not satisfactory to the more restless element in Rome, who found a leader in Minucius, the master of the horse. Minucius, having secured a trifling success, is made equal to Fabius, but on fighting a battle in which he was unsuccessful is made inferior in command again. In 216 B.C. L. Aemilius Paulus and C. Terentius Varro were elected consuls. The latter was of low birth and filled the rôle of demagogue while the former was of high birth and largely influenced by the advice of Fabius. On the departure of Paulus, Fabius makes the address set forth in this chapter.

2. *duo boni*: these words, as also *et mali*, imply a condition, i.e., if you were two good consuls, etc.—*indicente*: without my saying it. The prefix *in* is therefore negative. This is an old use found in early poetry.—*e re publica*: to the interest of the state.

3. *nunc*: as things are now, the usual adversative particle in Livy when the real is contrasted with the unreal.—*altera parte*: on one side, half, i.e. one consul; adverbial phrase modifying the expression *republica claudente*.—*claudente*: = *claudicante*, so helpless, lame. Compare the adjective *claudus*.—*ac*: = *as*.—*iuris*: with *idem*, as Varro and Aemilius have equal power.

4. *nescio an*: I am inclined to think.—*hic*: Varro.

5. *tuis*: opposed to *eius*.—*militibus*: your own soldiers will be aroused against you by Varro.

6. *ominis*: i.e. bad omen.—*tamen*: although I do not want to refer to Flaminius—he was a fury (*furere*) only when he became consul; Varro even before he became consul was mad (*insanit*).—*videt*: G. 577.

7. **et qui**: *and if he*. — **togatos**: opposed to *armatam iuventutem*. — **res**: *action*. — **verba**: *speech*.

8. **nobilior**: *of a worse name, notorious*.

9. **adversus unum**: *in the presence of you alone, or when you are the only one present*. — **excesserim**: potential subjunctive with *potius*. *I should rather err on the side of*. — **sed**: the sense of the passage is: though I do not like to mention it, the facts are thus and should be told.

10. **eventus**: *results, i.e. of experience*, opposed to *ratio, reason*. Fools alone need the lesson obtained by *eventus*. *Ratio* is explained in the section following and the *eventus* is briefly referred to in §§ 16 and 17. — **futura**: with *est* = *erit*. — **donec**: *as long as things shall remain the same*.

12. **id**: *this proof of their fidelity*. — **meliores**: *bello*. — **nos**: as opposed to *socii*. *They remain faithful, we become better soldiers*. — **tempus diesque**: *time as it goes by*; *tempus* is general, *dies* is particular. — **Hannibal**: opposed to *nos*, subject of *gerimus*.

14. **sui**: depends on *nihil*. — **in diem raptō**: *plunder of each day*. — **tertiam**: see Book 21. 40. 7 note, for the fraction.

15. **in dies**: *from day to day*.

16. **Gereoni**: *i.e. he sits before the walls of this town where there are stores, guarding it just as if he were before the walls of Carthage*. — **adversus te**: *i.e. with whom I shall have a friendly ear*. Fabius could at this point have referred to himself for he blocked Hannibal at Gereonium.

17. **Servilius**: *i.e. Servilius Geminus and Atilius Regulus the consuls of the preceding year, 215 B.C.* — **ludificati**: as described in Chap. 32. 1-3.

18. **consul Romanus . . . Poenus imperator**: note chiasmus. — **falsa**: *your disgrace undeserved*.

19. **laborare**: the word used for the eclipse of the moon, and so figuratively *is obscured or eclipsed*. — **veram**: *gloriam*.

20. **sine . . . vocent**: *let them call you*.

21. **tuae**: *under your own control*. — **tu**: supply *sis*. — **sint**: depends on *moneo ut*. — **neque**: G. 543. N. 3. — **suam**: *favorable to him*. A. 301. c.

22. **clara**: opposed to *caeca* as *certa* is to *improvida*.

Chapter 40.

REPLY OF PAULUS. DEPARTURE OF CONSULS

1. *adversus*: in reply to. — *magis fatentis*: *vera quam facilia fatentis*, acknowledging that what Fabius said was true rather than easy to do.

2. *quid fore*: rhetorical question, so an infinitive.

3. *populare incendium*: *fire of popular rage*. Aemilius refers to the time 219 B.C. when he and his colleague Marcus Livius had been unjustly accused of having divided the spoils of the Illyrian campaigns unfairly, and had been condemned by the votes of all the tribes except one. — *semustum*: *half burned*. Compare *ambustus* in same sense, Chap. 35. 3. His experience had been so unfortunate that he would prefer to fall into the hands of the enemy.

4. *sua*: *plebes*, his own followers and adherents. A. 301. b. — *turba*: ablative. — *dignitates*: *distinguished men*, abstract for concrete *digni*. Madvig suggests the reading *dignitas deesset*, in the sense of *worth*.

5. *novo*: see Chap. 36. 2, the four new legions. — *ut*: *ita ut*; in such a way that. — *nova minora*: *the new and weaker*. — *robur virium*: *the best troops*.

9. *compertum*: *as was afterwards found out*. — *transitio*: *ad Romanos*. — *maturitas*: *ripeness of time*.

Chapter 41.

SKIRMISHING. HANNIBAL'S STRATEGY

1. *ceterum*: here to introduce a new authority and so to indicate a transfer, below in § 2 it is the adversative. — *consulis*: Varro. Livy follows his authority, who is partial to Paulus, although in the preceding chapter he has spoken of the two consuls. — *materiam*: *fuel*. This word is frequently used for *lignum*. — *proelio*: modified by *tumultuario* and *orto* which are connected by *ac*. — *procursu*: the ablative of cause with *orto*. — *ex praeparato*: *by any prearranged plan, designedly*. Livy freely uses the perfect participle as a substantive, particularly with prepositions, taking

the place of an adjective or adverb. See Book 21. 31. 7, and 10, *ex propinquo*, *ex aperto*. — **par**: *favorable*. Compare Chaps. 18. 3 and 28. 13. The meaning is, the Carthaginians were not equal to the Romans in the contest, but Livy modifies this statement beginning with *dimicatio*. — **Poenis**: dative with *dimicatio*.

2. ad: adverb with *mille et septingenti*. The entire expression is the subject of the verb *caesi sunt*. When *mille* comes before the hundreds this is the form. Compare *ad sescentos* (Chap. 50. 11), subject of the verb *evaserunt*. — **plus**: for construction following *plus* see G. 296. R. 4; A. 406. c. — **occisis**: the ablative absolute, see G. 410. 2; A. 420. 5.

3. alternis: supply *diebus*. — **potuisse**: *potuit* in direct form, G. 597. R. 3.

4. pati: historical infinitive. — **inescatam**: *velut* indicates the figurative character of the word. *The rashness of the more head-strong consul would be lured on as by bait*.

5. imperitare: depends on *nota erant*. — **duas partes**: *almost two thirds of the army were raw recruits*.

6. ferenti: ablative. — **fortunae**: singular for plural in sense of "riches."

9. spatium: *got ahead a long distance in flight*. — **sicut**: *in like manner as*, referring to *falsa imagine*. — **locis**: plural, as of two camps, since the consuls were acting independently.

Chapter 42.

HANNIBAL'S STRATEGY DISCOVERED

1. subductae stationes: subject of *fecerunt*, which must be supplied from *fecit*. Again the concrete noun with the participle taking the place of the abstract noun. *The fact that the pickets had been withdrawn*. See Book 21. 1. 5 and elsewhere.

2. praetoria: the separate headquarters of the consuls. — **nuntiantium**: with *concursus*. — **quoque**: = *et quo*.

3. unus: for the usual construction with cardinals see G. 372. 2; A. 346. c.

4. dicere: historical infinitive.

5. nuntiat: *insidias esse* is what he relates, and what follows gives the reason for his opinion.

7. **ituros**: note the omission of the subject *se* as often in Livy.

8. **sua sponte**: as opposed to *auspicio*. — **pulli**: the sacred chickens taken with the army for securing omens. If they ate eagerly, the omen was good; if not, the signs were unfavorable. Flaminius had left Rome without consideration of the auspices, and Trasumennus followed; P. Claudius Pulcher, as Cicero tells us, when the chickens would not eat threw them overboard so that they might all at least drink. The defeat at Drepana, Sicily, followed, the *memorata navalis clades*, 249 B.C. — **quoque**: = *also*. — **auspicio**: by the auspices or at the time of the auspices. — **non addixissent**: *did not give approval*. — **efferenti**: with *collegae*. — **porta**: ablative of the way by which, so without a preposition as close to the construction of ablative of means.

10. **prope**: one might almost say, because of the coincidence, so *forte*, which indicates that the men had not come purposely. — **distulere**: *postponed*. Livy is thinking of the final disaster at Cannae. The emphasis is on the *distulere*, *i.e.* the gods interfered but only to postpone.

11. **trans**: *behind*, used thus above.

12. **consules . . . fecit**: *restored the authority of the consuls*. — **ambitio**: although this is the subject of *solvisset*, because of the *suam* it will be simpler to translate as if *consul alter* was the subject, *though one consul by his longing for popularity*. — **primum**: implies the possible bad effect on the dignity of the other consul.

Chapter 43.

HANNIBAL RETIRES TO CANNAE IN APULIA

1. **motos**: Hannibal saw that the Romans had simply made a rash movement but had not been carried away to attempt a final and desperate risk. — **nequiquam**: with *rediit*, the reason is *detecta fraude*, as described in the preceding chapter.

2. **in dies**: this expression is used of a change from day to day, and is found with comparatives and words suggesting a change as of increase or decrease, so here with *novus*. — **cotidie**: is used of a daily occurrence where no change took place.

3. **ex conlutione**: the opinion of the Romans, and greatly exaggerated. — **Nam**: note the arrangement of the sentence, first two coördinate clauses giving the reason for the main verb in the principal clause, *Hannibal dicitur*; and finally an *ut* clause giving the result. — **initio**: with *deinde* as variant for *primo*, *deinde*; but not like *primo* . . . *postremo*, where intermediate possibilities are suggested. — **annonam**: = *annonae difficultatem*, the scarcity of corn. — **transitione**: see statement Chap. 40. 9.

4. **de fuga in**: note how the preposition *in* joins its object directly to the verbal noun. This statement is very improbable.

5. **consilia**: as this refers to Hannibal's intention and *habitus* to the disposition of the soldiers, there is a chiasmus because of the order in the preceding sentence. — **statuit**: this is taken apparently from Polybius 3. 107. Hannibal had already moved to Cannae some time before Paulus and Varro took charge. — **eo**: *on this account*. — **messibus**: dative with *maturiora*, *places more advanced for crops*. — **impeditiora**: *eo* is needed to correspond with *quo*.

6. **similiter**: Chap. 41. 9.

7. **Statilium**: Chap. 42. 4. — **ultra**: there is not thought of a line of separation, but rather a point or place beyond a boundary, *e.g.* a river.

9. **Cannas**: on the banks of the Aufidus not far inland.

10. **Volturmo**: this is the familiar Sirocco, an east-south-east wind which is very debilitating. The name came from Mt. Voltur in Apulia over which the wind blew, or from *voltur* = a vulture. *vento* is supplied here to avoid ambiguity because of the form of the name Volturnus standing for the river. Book 26. 6. 2. — **campis**: *over plains burned with drought*. Ablative without *in* in answer to the question where. — **id**: this arrangement of the camp. — **cum** . . . **tum**: *both* . . . *and*.

11. **salutare**: *especially advantageous*. — **cum** . . . **dirigerent**: corresponds to *ipsis castris*. This is the iterative subjunctive with *cum*. The Ms. Puteanus has *dirigerent* (*de, rego*); many other Mss. have *dirigerent* (*dis, rego*) and this Luchs adopts, but see *derigit*, Chap. 44. 4, and note the difference. — **aversi**: *i.e. a Volturmo*. — **terga**: accusative after *adflante*, a poetical construction introduced into prose by Livy. — **pulvere**: *offuso, blown against them*.

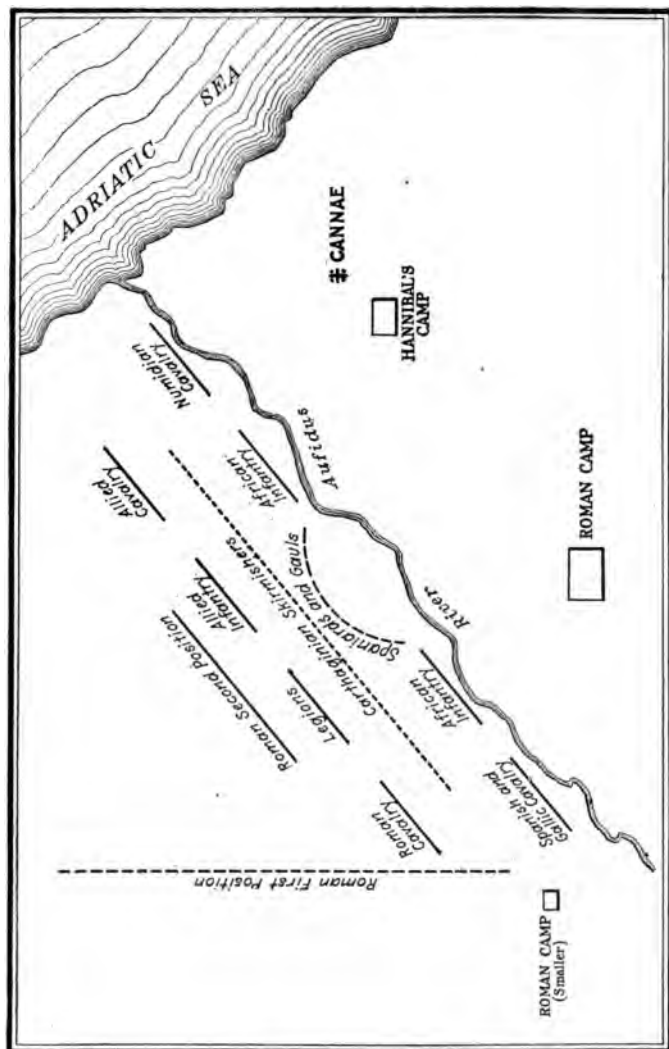
Chapter 44.

THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ

1. *ad: near to Cannæ.* — *Poenum*: the collective singular used here of the Carthaginians and not of Hannibal alone as in the line above. — *bina castra*: a smaller camp on one bank and a larger on the other bank. There is much uncertainty as to the location of each as there is doubt about the location of the battlefield. — *intervallo*: with *communiunt*, not with *divisis*. — *quo ad Gereonium*: see Chap. 40. 5, where however the measured distance is not given, although Polybius (3. 110. 9) says ten stadia, about two miles or a trifle less. — *divisis*: the troops were divided just as before, — as apportioned unequally in the two camps. Polybius more exactly places one third in the smaller camp.

2. *Aufidus*: modern Ofanto, flowing from the Apennines to the Adriatic. Apulia is noted for its lack of water, hence a stream such as the Aufidus is of great importance. — *adfluens: flowing by both camps (of the Romans).* — *ex sua . . . opportunitate, according as each one could secure the chance.*

3. *trans*: the understanding of this word depends upon the opinion as to the exact location of the camps in relation to the river, and the decision as to the position of the battlefield. The two views are as follows. Cannæ is located to the south of the Aufidus or on its right bank, the river running northeast. After Hannibal reaches Cannæ, the Roman army follows and encamps on the north side of the river, but places a smaller camp on the south side, *i.e.* the side of the river on which Cannæ is located. Hannibal crosses the river to the side where the larger Roman camp stands. (This change of position is not mentioned by Livy, but is a deduction from Polybius 3. 111. 11.) Hannibal is then on the left bank and on this bank is the larger camp of the Romans. Paulus refuses battle and Hannibal harasses the watering parties from the smaller camp. Varro on the day on which he has command crosses from the left to the right bank, the location of the smaller camp. Hannibal makes the same move, and the battle is fought on the south side of the river. This view seems to be more closely in accord with the statements of Polybius, who



BATTLE OF CANNAE

declares that the smaller camp was on the east (south) side of the river, and that the battle was fought on the same side as the smaller camp (3. 113. 6). Polybius says east, thinking of the river as running south to north, whereas it actually runs from southwest to northeast.

The other view follows Livy a little more closely. He does not mention the double crossing of the river by Hannibal, but only the crossing before the battle (Chap. 46. 1). After Hannibal goes to Cannae, the Romans follow and locate near him on the south side of the Aufidus but place a smaller camp on the north side. Hannibal attempts in vain to allure Paulus to battle, but sends Numidian cavalry across the river to attack the water parties from the smaller camp. Varro, succeeding Paulus in command, crosses the river and draws up his army in battle array. Hannibal likewise crosses and the battle takes place on the north side of the river. The objection to this latter view is the statement of both writers that the Roman right rested on the river and that they looked south during the battle. As to the first it was true that the right rested on the river in the first position. Afterward the Romans wheeled around to face the Carthaginians, who, took up a position with their rear on the river. The Romans thus were facing almost south, at least southeast. — *ripa ulterior* : *on the farther bank there was no force of the enemy*. This must mean the southern bank as viewed from the smaller camp.

4. *natis* : *adapted naturally*. For construction see also Chap. 4. 2. — *qua parte* : *equitatu*. — *derigit* : note the orthography here.

5. *rursus* : a recurrence of conditions described in Chap. 41. 2; 42. 4. — *solicitari* : historical infinitive, subject is *castra*. — *cum Paulus* : the outline of the sentence is *cum Paulus . . . Varroni . . . Varro Paulo obiceret . . . testaretur hic . . . ille . . . diceret*. — *que et* : familiar to poetry, not in Cicero and Caesar. — *speciosum . . . exemplum* : this is the actual reproach. — *Fabium* : appositive to *exemplum* in place of a genitive.

6. *hic* : *Varro*. — *usu cepisset* : a legal phrase implying that as Hannibal had now been two years in possession of Italy, he had a legal right to the land, as the Law of the Twelve Tables declared that possession of this length was necessary for the acquiring of property. Translate — *had gained the right to Italy by legal*

possession. — *pugnare*: with *cupientibus*. — *militibus*: dative of separation with *adimi*.

7. *ille*: *Paulus*. — *diceret*: construction goes back to *cum* and is parallel to *testaretur* in § 5. — *videret*: *let his colleague* (Varro) *take care*. The subjunctive represents the imperative and the subject is Varro. — *quibus*: the antecedent is *eorum* to be supplied with *manus*. The verb *esset* is understood. — *vigerent*: *manus* is the subject.

Chapter 45.

PRELIMINARY SKIRMISHING

1. *ad multum diei*: *until late in the day*. Note Livy's use of the neuter adjective with the noun in the genitive in place of the usual attributive adjective. See Book 21. 33. 7. — *ceteras copias*: opposed to *Numidas*.

2. *ex minoribus castris*: an attributive expression with *aquatores*. — *trans flumen*: either to the north — the left — bank or to the south — right — bank according to the theory as to where the smaller camp was located and where the battle was fought, for the battle took place on the same side of the river as the location of the smaller camp.

3. *inconditam turbam*: the *aquatores*. — *vixdum in ripam egressi*: *before they had ever reached the bank*, *i.e.* in crossing the river. — *evecti sunt*: *dashed on*, the complete expression is *evecti sunt equis*. — *quoque*: *even to the outpost*. Three points are mentioned in the climax, *in ripam*, *in stationem*, and *in portas*.

4. *id*: explained by *castra terreri*. — *auxilio*: *auxiliorum manu*. The plural is generally concrete, the singular abstract. See Book 21. 22. 3, where both are found. The meaning is — *skirmishers from the auxiliary troops*, *i.e.* the Numidians, who as cavalry according to the Roman idea formed the auxiliary troops and were adapted for skirmishing and not for a pitched battle. — *ne transirent*: G. 548; A. 558. b; B. 295. 3. — *tenuerit*: perfect subjunctive denoting final result. Book 21. 1. 2. — *quod . . . fuit*: explains *causa*.

5. *sors imperii*: limited by *eius diei*. The same idea has already been expressed in another way in the preceding sentence. — *nihil*: a strong negative with the ablative absolute — *without*

consulting his colleague at all. For construction of *nihil* see G. 338. 2. — **signum**: the red flag at the general's tent. — **flumēn traduxit**: the direction must be determined by the theory as to the location of the battle. They moved to the other side where the smaller camp was located. — **quia . . . poterat**: *because he could withhold approval of the policy but could not refuse to support it.*

6. **id . . . propius**: if we accept the view that the battle was fought on the north or left bank, we must assume that this was the Romans' first position, which was at right angles to the river facing northeast, and that there was a change as they swung around to a battle line facing the southeast. — **propius**: with the dative. A. 432. a.

7. **extremi**: *the equites of the allies on the extreme end held the left flank.* — **intra**: as a noun, the *pedites (sociorum)* subject of *tenuerunt*; the allied infantry were on the left wing also, but in the inner position. *intra* corresponds to *extremi*. — **ad medium**: *next to the Roman legions at the middle of the line.* — **facta**: supply *est*. The gender is determined by the predicate noun which stands next to it. Apparently Livy's statement here refers to two divisions of the line *dextrum cornu* and *laevum cornu*, the *ad medium* meaning merely "at the middle of the line." Then the *pedites* after *deinde* refers to the Roman legions mentioned two lines below. Below in § 8 there is a threefold division. If we do not identify the *pedites* after *deinde* with the Roman legions, the latter, the legions, may be considered the middle of the line and we have a triple division. — **Gemino Servilio**: the order here is *cognomen, nomen*, which is the older form when the *praenomen* is missing and is due to the substitution of the second personal name — *cognomen* — for the first. This is the order in Cicero, but in Caesar the order *nomen, cognomen* prevails and later writers vary the usage, tending rather to the latter form.

8. **media**: the Roman infantry and allied infantry, or simply the Roman infantry designated as *legiones*. — **data**: *est*.

Chapter 46.

HANNIBAL'S LINE OF BATTLE

1. **Baliaribus**: *praemissis*. — **alia**: = *reliqua*. — **ut**: corresponds to *ita*. — **quosque**: the several detachments.

3. *firmata*: composed of—*utraque cornu*: i.e. of the inner line of infantry, the *media acies*.

4. *magna ex parte*: in brackets because due probably to the same expression used just below, as Polybius says all the Africans were armed thus.—*crederes*: G. 258; A. 447. 2; B. 280. 3.—*ita*: i.e. like the Romans. *ita* explains the previous statement and stands for *ita ut id crederes*.—*et . . . ceterum*: on the one hand at the Trebia but in particular, so taking the place of *et . . . et*.—*Gallis . . . erant*: the Gauls and Spaniards had shields.

5. *dispares ac dissimiles*; unlike in use and appearance; this is explained immediately.—*Hispano*: note the variation in number to avoid monotony. *The Spaniards accustomed to attack an enemy . . . had swords short and handy*.—*punctum*: this and *caesum* in the sense of "cutting with an edge" are additions to the Latin vocabulary made by Livy.—*brevitate*: ablative of external cause in place of *propter*, with the accusative, found in Sallust and Livy.—*habiles*: agreeing with *gladii*.—*Ante*: note this expression in which *ante* is used in a metaphorical sense and *alios* = *ceteros*. Not found in Cicero or Caesar, but in Vergil. The expression is *habitus gentium harum imagis quam habitus ceterorum*.

6. *praetextis*: the adjective meaning *bordered*.—*constiterant*: from *consisto*,—had taken this position and so stood there in tunics, bordered . . .—*linteis . . . tunicis*: ablative of circumstance like ablative of manner.

7. *Hasdrubal*: not Hannibal's brother, who was in Spain, but an important general who had aided Hannibal in his strategy before, Chap. 16. 8.—*Maharbal*: Livy and Polybius are not in harmony here, for the latter, 3. 14. 7, says Hanno (see Livy, Book 21. 27. 2). Appian agrees with Polybius.—*Magone*: familiar from Book 21. 54. 1.

8. *locatis*: ablative absolute, with subject understood, e.g. *exercitibus*. Some say dative with *obliquus* parallel with *utrique parti*.

Chapters 47, 48, 49.

THE BATTLE

1. The battle opens with the attack of the light-armed.—*armis*: ablative. Abstract with concrete meaning.—*equitum*: genitive of apposition or specification. G. 361; A. 343. d.

2. **frontibus adversis**: *face to face*, front to front, as in a battle of infantry, and there was no room for maneuvering, by riding to right and left. — **claudēbant**: the object is wanting.

3. In **derectum**: *directly forward*. — **utrumque nitentes**: *both sides striving*. — **turba**: ablative of manner without a preposition or adjective, a usage found in the poets and in Livy. — **detrahebat**: singular, as *vir*, which takes up *nitentes* and to which it is in apposition, is nearer. — **equo**: ablative with *detraho*, as the idea of personal interest is not involved. G. 345. R. 1.

4. **sub**: temporal, of time approaching or just past, here the latter. — **dum**: *as long as*, so followed by imperfect tense. G. 569; A. 356. a. — **constabant**: lines stood firm and unbroken. — **Gallis Hispanisque**: dative of interest.

5. **obliqua fronte**: this expression does not surely belong to Livy, for it is a reading arising from the *consili aequa* of the Mss., for which Lipsius reads *conisi obliqua*. It is difficult to explain the phrase *obliqua fronte*, for it may refer either to a concave or convex line. As the Carthaginian center projected beyond the remainder of the line, it has regularly been interpreted as "in concave line." — **acie densa**: although the formation was curved so as to meet the enemies' formation, nevertheless the lines were compact possibly because of the limitation of the Roman arrangement. — **cuneum**: this force, which Hannibal purposely made a shallow line, *tenuem*, was to give way at the right moment and lure the Romans on into a trap.

6. **Impulsis**: governed by *institere*, of which *Romani* is the subject. *The Romans pursued the Carthaginians driven before them, and hurriedly retreating*. — **pedem**: the expression is *referentibus pedem*. — **uno tenore**: *persistently*. — **favore**: with *praeceps*, which agrees with *agmen*. — **mediam**: the Gauls and Spaniards as flanked by the Afri. — **Afrorum**: genitive explaining *subsidia*, a genitive of apposition. The Afri were termed *subsidia*, not as actual reserves, but as set aside to be engaged later in the fight.

7. **reductis alis**: ablative absolute, *who after the wings* (the Afri) *had been withdrawn somewhat, had taken their position* (on the wings), while the center, where the Gauls and Spaniards had been stationed, was pushed forward to some degree. — **media**: with *acie*, explaining the maneuver referred to above. See Chap. 46. 3.

8. **cuneus**: referred to in § 6 and § 7. — **pulsus**: this participle contains perhaps the principal idea and with *cuneus* takes the place of an abstract noun. — **aequavit frontem**: *when the driving back of this column made the line even*. — **circa**: *on both sides*. — **cornua**: had made the horns of a crescent. — **circumdedere alas**: the *alae* are the *cornua* referred to above and the subject of *circumdedere* is *Afri*. — **cornua**: the ends of the crescent, so *extending their formation*, they shut in the enemy even in their rear.

9. **Hinc**: *hereupon*, temporal. — **defuncti**: with *proelio*, having fought one battle to no purpose. — **circumfusus**: perfect participle as a noun, a construction common in Livy.

Chapter 48.

1. **et**: *etiam*. — **segne**: fought sluggishly. — **a**: *with*, so with verbs of beginning as Chap. 9. 7, *ab diis orsus*. — **Punica fraude**: see Book 21. 4. Not mentioned by Polybius.

2. **ab suis**: from their own line. — **parmas . . . habentes**: indicating that they came with full trust and so in a friendly spirit.

3. **mediam**: here general and meaning within the lines of the Roman foot soldiers. — **dum conseritur**: note the present tense and compare the imperfect in Chap. 47. 4.

4. **scutis**: the long shields which made them look like Roman soldiers. The *parmae* were small and round.

5. **alibi . . . alibi**: *in one place, in another*, the first must mean the Roman right, Chap. 47. 3, the other, the Roman center, Chap. 47. 10. — **ea parte**: must mean the Carthaginian right, opposed to the Roman left of which we are speaking in this chapter. Maharbal had been placed in command of the Carthaginian right, and not Hasdrubal; but in the course of the battle Hasdrubal, after defeating the Roman right, had passed to this part of the battle (a change not mentioned by Livy) and so was in command. He then defeated the allied cavalry and attacked the rear of the Roman infantry. See Polybius, 3. 116. 7. — **ex media acie**: an expression difficult of explanation. It may mean the middle of the right wing, hence a part of the Numidians, for they now were the *media acies* by the placing of Gallic and Spanish cavalry on the right, and left. Again it may be possible to regard this as a

general statement meaning "the midst of the battle." The Numidians are not the 500 but those named in § 1. — *fugientis*: this probably means the *equites sociorum* just put to flight (compare *terror ac fuga*) whom Hasdrubal left the Numidians to pursue while he himself turned to attack the Roman infantry. This is more in accord with the statements of Polybius, 3. 116. 7-8.

Chapter 49.

In this chapter as in the preceding Livy's description of the maneuvers is full of difficulties and is obscure. Evidently he has based his description on that of Polybius, but has also introduced some statements from other authorities.

1. *parte altera*: judging from Polybius 3. 116, this must be the center to which Paulus has passed from the right wing. Livy does not mention this, but it is indicated from *occurrit . . . Hannibali*, and see Chap. 46. 7. In Chap. 45. 5 Livy has said that Aemilius Paulus commanded the right wing, but at the beginning of this chapter Paulus is at the center and has been wounded by a sling. It looks very much as if Livy here in Chap. 49 were using another source similar to that used by Appian, who says that Paulus commanded the center and the infantry even from the beginning of the battle and was surrounded by a body of cavalry 1000 in number. — *primo proelio*: *first part of the battle, i.e. the contest of the light-armed troops.*

2. *cum confertis*: *with close line of cavalry* as shown by *equitibus*. — *et: etiam*.

3. *traderet*: the subject is *consul*. This is said either in earnest or with a sarcastic touch, — that he might just as well have done so, for being without horses they are now in his hands. Note the optative subjunctive and the omission of the *ut*. G. 546. N. 2.

4. *Equitum*: *the battle of the cavalry was an infantry contest.* — *quale*: = *tale quale esse debuit* or *esse solet*. — *victoria*: ablative absolute.

5. *paucos*: = *equos*. Compare *omissis equis*, in § 2.

6. *praetervehens*: the present participle of *praetervehor*, used as if that verb were a deponent whose present participle is the

active form. The verb *praetervehor* is middle and is treated as a deponent verb. Livy regularly uses it transitively with the idea of "sailing by." We might have expected *praevehi* which Livy uses for "riding by."

8. *Ne feceris*: note the form of prohibition. — *dum superest*: G. 270.

9. *macte*: G. 85. c; 325. R. 1; A. 340. c. *Success attend your valor*. An indeclinable adjective, perhaps originally a vocative. — *virtute*: ablative of cause. — *publice*: opposed to *privatim* below. — *cave*: G. 271. 2; A. 450. N. 2; B. 276. c.

10. *priusquam advenit*: G. 574, 575; A. 551. c. — *Fabio*: after *nuntia*.

11. *patere*: imperative. — *reus iterum*: see Chaps. 35. 2; 40. 3. L. Aemilius Paulus had been the colleague of M. Livius Salinator and had been accused with him of unfair division of the spoils from the Illyrian campaign. — *e*: *by reason of*. — *alieno*: answered by *meam*. — *crimine*: *charge against another*.

12. *oppressere*: this and *obruere* are perfects.

13. *minora*: again the same uncertainty as to location, although this camp was undoubtedly on the same side of the river as the scene of battle. — *Cannas*: according to Livy's account Hannibal remained encamped near Cannae (43. 10) south of the river and did not leave that place until he moved to the north of the river for the battle (46. 10). — *qui*: *who were surrounded at once by Carthalo*, a commander of Carthaginian cavalry, Chaps. 15. 8; 58. 7.

14. *alter*: *Varro*. — *insertus*: *having joined*. — *quingenta*: so in Chap. 50. 3 and in Book 23. 11. 9, but in Book 25. 6. 13 Livy says seventy and there agrees with Polybius. — *Venusiam*: on the border of Lucania and Apulia, 28 miles away from the battlefield, familiar to us as Horace's birthplace.

15. *quadraginta*: it is interesting to note the numbers given by Livy as to this battle. He here says that 48,200 were slain. In the greater camp were 10,000 (49. 13), increased by 600 (50. 11) and 4200 escaped (52. 4), leaving 6400 to be taken in the larger camp. In the smaller camp there were 7000 (49. 13), reduced by the desertion of 600 (50.11), leaving exactly the same number as in the larger camp. Those captured in battle numbered 4500

(49. 18), so that the total number captured was 17,300. Livy in Chap. 54. § 1. § 4 says that 4500 and 10,000 escaped. The combined figures of the slain, captured, and fugitives make a total of 80,000 in the army, although Livy in Chap. 36 gives the number as 87,000. Polybius in 3. 113. 5 and 3. 117. 4 declares that 70,000 perished out of an army of 80,000.

15. tantadem: this is the suggestion of Madvig for *tanta* of the Mss., the meaning called for being "an equal number." — **caesi dicuntur:** the subject is *pars*, the figure synesis.

16. undetriginta: *i.e.* 29 out of the 48 in the legions, as six were assigned to each. — **consulares:** men of consular rank, *i.e.* ex-consuls. We have here an outline of the senatorian *cursus honorum* in descending order. The tribunate of the soldiers formed the preliminary military service of the *cursus* when fully recognized and in force.

17. octoginta: the *periocha* gives 90 senators, and 30 ex-consuls, praetors, and aediles. — **unde:** pronominal = *ex quibus*. — **deberent:** consecutive; *i.e.* they had held curule offices and could have been in the senate, but had not as yet been placed there by the Lex Ovinia, which gave to the censors certain rights over the list of senators admitted. — **gessissent:** characteristic. — **cum:** and yet.

Chapter 50.

1. Aliensi: the battle on the Alia in 390 B.C., in which the Romans suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Gauls who entered Rome.

2. uti . . . sic: *although . . . yet; so sicut . . . ita* below.

3. namque: G. 498. N. 1. — **ad Aliam:** closely with *fuga*. — **ad Cannas:** not after *fugientem*. — **quinquaginta:** Chaps. 49. 14; 54. 1. — **alterius:** possessive predicate genitive, so *shared the fate of the other consul*, stated in a poetical way, *with the consul who died, perished the whole army*.

4. Binis: Chap. 44. 1. — **nuntium . . . mittunt:** *i.e. ad eos qui in minoribus erant*. This controls the constructions following, *ut transirent and abituros esse*. — **ex laetitia:** closely modifies *epulis*. — **Canusium:** about five miles southwest of Cannae.

5. **aspernari**: historical infinitive. Subject is *alii*, those in smaller camp, parallel to *aliis* below. — **venire**: infinitive in indirect discourse as a rhetorical question depending on the idea of saying in *aspernari*. G. 654. 2; A. 586. — **aliorum**: supply *corpora* parallel with *sua*.

6. **Latinus socius**: the question arose because the Romans were assessed at 400 *denarii*, the *socii* at 200 *denarii* (Chap. 52. 3). We should expect simply *socius*, as *Latinus socius* was a particular kind of ally (see Chap. 7. 5), and we need a more general term, but apparently the adjective is used to match the *Romanus*. See Chap. 7 for the different treatment Hannibal accorded Romans and allies. — **an**: note omission of *utrum* in the double question. — **alteri**: *i.e.* the *socius*.

7. **Non tu**: supply *capi mavis* or *id mavis*, for the pronoun goes back to *mauultis*, § 6, for its subject. He is apparently speaking directly to one of the leaders, as representing all, as shown in *cives estis*. — **consulis**: depends on *cives*, *i.e.* fellow citizens, as usual with the name of an individual. — **bene mori**: *to die with honor*.

8. **antequam opprimit**: G. 574; A. 551. c; B. 291. 1. Our feeling is rather for a subjunctive because of the idea of intention to prevent. — **inordinati**: has to do with the lines of battle; *incompositi*, with the companies.

9. **quamvis**: closely with *confertos* and regularly used as an adverb in Livy. — **Cuneo**: strengthened by the *quidem*, *by a column to be sure*. — **ut si**: G. 602. N. 5, elsewhere in Livy *velut si* or simply *velut* (Lease).

10. **Haec . . . medios**: these words give an hexameter and part of another. Scholars have suggested that these lines originated with Ennius and came to Livy through Coelius Antipater. Cicero in *Orator* 56. 189 speaks as if such lines were accidental. Niebuhr built his theory as to the origin of early Roman history in folk lore from the occurrence of such lines. See Vergil, *Aeneid*, 2. 791.

11. **latus dextrum**: Dimsdale, who in his discussion of the question as to the site of the battlefield supports the view that the battle was fought on the right bank, calls attention however to the inconsistency here as follows: "The smaller Roman camp must

have been either west of the Carthaginians on the left bank of the river or east of them on the right bank, for the battle was fought on the same bank as that on which the smaller camp was situated, and in the battle the Romans rested the right on the river. Now if the smaller camp was east of the Carthaginians and on the right bank, troops leaving it would have exposed their left flank to the enemy in crossing to the larger camp. This looks as if Livy thought the battle was fought on the left bank. But Livy's narrative is not consistent."—**ad sescentos**: subject of *evaserunt*. — **atque inde**: i.e. from the greater camp. — **protinus**: directly on. — **agmine**: the *agmen* of Chap. 52. 4.

12. animorum: courage. Note the plural as referring to the abstract quality displayed in many. — **cuique**: note association with *suum*. — **consilio**: definite plan.

Chapter 51.

SCENES AFTER THE BATTLE

1. Hannibali: note prominent position of this word.— **bello**: here for *proelio*, as if this battle were the war. — **quod . . . esset**: the remainder of the day. This is one of the objects of *sumeret* and *daret*.

2. Maharbal: Livy obtained this from Coelius Antipater, who in turn is indebted to Cato's *Origines*. Gellius, 10. 24. 6. — **ut scias**: absolute subjunctive of purpose depending on *hoc audi* or *dico*.

3. quam ut: G. 298. — **temporis**: genitive with *opus esse*. See G. 406. N. 3; A. 356. N.

1. nimirum: G. 467. 2. N.; A. 575. d. It arises from *ni mirum sit, is it not wonderful?* — **mora**: as to the question, which plan Hannibal should have followed and whether he should have marched to Rome at once, there has always been a vigorous difference of opinion even from ancient times. See Juvenal, 7. 163, *an petat urbem a Cannis*.

5. stragem: abstract for concrete.— **ire**: not in the Mss., but inserted because *insistere* is regularly followed by an infinitive or a dative or accusative.

6. quem: for *quemque* probably because of *cuique*. — **pugna**: ablative, as also *fuga*. — **quidam**: for *aliquot* or *nonnulli*. — **stricta**:

vulnera, stinging. Some render "drawn together," "closed." — *excitaverant*: had aroused.

7. *succisis*: with thighs (*femur*) and legs (*poples*) cut.

8. *foveas*: small holes. — *interclusisse*: the complete expression is *spiritum sibi*, i.e. suffocated themselves.

9. *subtractus*: drawn from underneath a dead Roman who was lying upon him. Another reading is *substratus*, lying under. — *Numida*: nominative as subject, although the entire sentence is logically the subject of *convertit*, with which supply *in se* as the object is *omnes*. — *ille*: i.e. the Roman, subject of *expirasset*. — *in rabiem*: after *versa*.

Chapter 52.

FATE OF THE CAMPS

1. *ad multum diei*: for the greater part of the day. — *ducit*: absolute, as often when object is familiar and the expression is military, so *movit*. — *bracchio*: a line of trenches. — *flumine*: ablative of separation, the Aufidus.

2. *ab omnibus*: with *editio facta est*. — *labore*: note enumerative asyndeton. — *ipsius*: Hannibal.

3. *Pacti*: *paciscor*, having agreed upon the price of three hundred *denarii*, etc., on condition that they surrender their arms and horses. — *in capita*: distributive, for each Roman. — *nummis*: ablative of price. — *quadrigatis*: this marks these *nummi* as *denarii* which had a four-horse chariot stamped thereon. The *denarius* was about equal to 18 cents. A different price — 210 *denarii* — is given in Chap. 23. 6. — *et ut*: this clause, as the preceding *ut* . . . *traderet*, depends on *pacti*. — *singulis*: see Book 21. 12. 5 and note.

4. *quibus*: antecedent is *ii*, subject of *profugissent*, which is explained by *ad* . . . *hominum et ducenti equites* and taken up by *alii* . . . *alii*. — *ad*: adverb with *milia*. — *hominum*: i.e. *peditum*, as shown by *equites* and see Book 21. 27. 1. note.

5. *si quid*: whatever of silver plate. Supply *erat*. — *facto*: supply *argento*, i.e. silver plate, silver that is "worked." — *utique*: above all as they were soldiers. — *utebantur*: the subject is *Romani*; it governs *facto*.

7. *Eos*: emphatic position, governed by *iuvit*.

BOOK XXVI. CHAPTERS 1-15

The books intervening between the twenty-second and twenty-sixth give the events of the war for the years 216-212 B.C. The operations are carried on in Italy, Spain, Sicily, and Africa. Livy's narrative passes quite abruptly from one scene of warlike events to another. The twenty-third book describes the movements of Hannibal in Samnium and Campania; his occupation of Capua, capture of near-by Casilinum, and his attempt on Nola. Some attention is given to the campaign in which the Scipios are endeavoring to defeat Hasdrubal. The twenty-fourth book is mainly devoted to the operations in southern Italy at Crotona and in Sicily after the death of Hiero, the friend of Rome. Hannibal gives his time and attention to the capture of Tarentum and loses ground in Campania. Casilinum is retaken by the Romans. Marcellus in command of the Romans in Sicily besieges Syracuse. Syphax, king of Numidia, becomes friendly to Rome. In book twenty-five we find a description of the siege of Tarentum. Capua is now threatened by the Romans and appeals to Hannibal, who moves into Campania. In Spain Hasdrubal defeats and slays the two Scipios, Publius and Gnaeus, but is finally defeated by Lucius Marcius. In Sicily Syracuse surrenders to the Romans. The first fifteen chapters of Book 26 are concerned with the siege of Capua.

Chapter 1.

PLANS FOR THE PROSECUTION OF THE WAR

1. *idibus Martiis*: it was not until 153 B.C. that the civil year began on January 1. — *Capitolium*: the first meeting of the senate for the year was held in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. — *de re publica*: *business of the state*, defined by what follows.

2. **prorogatum**: *Q. Fulvius and Appius Claudius were continued in their commands.* — **obsidebant**: indicative, as parenthetical.

4. **recepta**: *so if it were retaken.* (*urbs*) *recepta* is an instance of the participle and noun, in place of an abstract noun and genitive, so common in Livy.

6. **reliqua**: note use of neuter plural of adjective in place of noun, and find other instances.

7. **suppleret**: indirect discourse depending on *prorogatum est* and taking the place of an imperative.

8. **militem**: Livy is referring to the survivors of the battle of Cannae.

9. **qui**: antecedent is *exercitu*.

10. **generi**: *i.e. militibus huius generis*, the survivors of disgraceful defeats.

11. **scribere**: *enroll*.

12. **habebant**: subject is *Graecia et Sicilia*, obtained from the preceding line.

Chapters 2 and 3.

L. MARCIUS AND CN. FULVIUS

This chapter describes the consideration on the part of the senate of the action of L. Marcius, a Roman knight, who after the death of the Scipios in Spain had been chosen to the command and assumed the title of *propraetor*, and of Cn. Fulvius who had led his soldiers into all kinds of vice and rendered them unfit to stand the strain of battle so that they had easily been put to flight.

1. **referretur**: note the technical expression, *de litteris referre*. The passive is here used impersonally. — **magnificae**: *distinguished*. The two parallel sentences are *res gestae magnificae visae sunt, titulus honoris . . . partem hominum offendeat*. Note the adversative asyndeton. — **quod**: *because*. — **imperio**: with *dato*.

2. **esse**: depends on idea of saying, obtained from *offendeat*. — **sollemne**: *ceremony*. — **auspicandorum**: gerundive with *comitiorum*, expressing the idea of holding an election after the preliminary taking of the auspices. — **ad militarem temeritatem**: the persons, *i.e. to rash and impetuous soldiers*: abstract for concrete.

5. *prius*: i.e. *prius quam de litteris L. Marcii*. They gave this matter the preference in the senate. — *agendum . . . esse*: (*ut*) *primo quoque tempore*. At the very earliest opportunity. Consider the original expression of a superlative with *quisque*, e.g. *optimus quisque*, and this use of *quisque* with *primus* where the force of *quisque* has about disappeared.

7. *die dicta*: this is a technical phrase used of the tribune or prosecuting magistrate who appointed a day for the prosecution to take place, so that the meaning is, *when he had given notice of the trial*. — *contionibus*: the assembly of the people before whom the prosecution was carried on.

8. *proderet*: note the indirect discourse all through these sentences.

9. *ineat*: another technical expression meaning *to cast his vote*. The verb shows that the expression arose from the voters going into an enclosure for this purpose; thus *inire suffragium* means "to go in for voting." In Book 26. 22. 4, Livy has *suffragium ferre* and in Book 28. 38. 8, *suffragari*.

10. *Ti. Sempronium*: Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, who according to Book 23. 35. 5 was in command of an army of slaves stationed near Liternum. — *brevi*: *tempore*. — *essent*: this goes back to *nemo* for its subject, but the adversative asyndeton indicates that the subject must be affirmative and opposite of *nemo*, so supply *omnes*.

13. *C. Flaminium*: defeated at Lake Trasumennus 217 (B.C.); Paulus, at Cannae (216); Postumius, at Litana by the Gauls (216); Scipiones, in Spain (212).

14. *re . . . dimittatur*: *with the purpose that they should not return*.

15. *in*: *in the case of*. — *Cn. Fulvio*: the outline of the entire sentence is *Facinus indignum esse . . . exercitum deportatum . . . Cn. Fulvio fugam impunitam esse et eum . . . acturum milites . . . pati*.

16. *militēs*: set off against *eum*. Note asyndeton.

Chapter 3.

1. *transferebat*: for the tense see G. 233. — *eos . . . productos*: depending on idea of saying in *transferebat*. — *eo*: *die*. —

seu . . . seu : this use of *seu* indicates that the speaker hesitates between saying the one or the other, — *they could not endure (it may have been) the strength or (perhaps) the reputation of the enemy.*

2. se : *i.e.* Fulvius.

3. qui : ablative, *how.* — **restantem :** *if he had stood his ground alone.* — **nisi si :** *sarcastic.*

4. agmine : here like *itinere*; *inexplorato* might have been used absolutely as elsewhere. — **suum :** *a man's own natural disposition produces within him either courage or cowardice.* — **cuique :** note the position and the force of the dative.

5. est accusatus : note the technical expressions in this sentence. *His case was brought forward on two occasions, and the penalty asked for was a fine.* The legal procedure was to bring forward the case on three occasions in an *anquisitio*. After a period of three weeks the final result of this *anquisitio* was embodied in a bill (*rogatio*) and placed before the *comitia* for final action. — **tertio :** *die.*

6. capite : the people in the *contio* demanded that the punishment suggested should be changed, and called for the extreme penalty, namely capital punishment. This is the ablative of the penalty. See *pecunia* above and the genitive *capitis* below, § 7.

7. anquisisset : the subject is *tribunus* or Sempronius Blaesus. — **tertio :** *and said on the third day that he made the penalty death.*

8. tribuni : *the tribunes, on appeal, refused to interfere with their colleague so that he should not present the case as he preferred, whether strictly in accordance with the law or by precedent,* — *inasmuch as this alternative was granted by the custom of their ancestors,* — *according as he determined the penalty due the accused to be either death or a fine.* — **appellati :** *a Fulvio.* — **legibus :** *if the law had been followed strictly, death would have been the penalty, but the fine was customary.* — **mallet :** *anquirere.* — **privato :** a synonym here for *reo*.

9. perduellionis : the genitive of the charge. — **diem petit :** *as the penalty was changed from pecunia to caput the case came before the comitia and the praetor was called upon diem dicere.* See Chap. 2. 7. — **comitiis :** to pass on the *rogatio*.

10. propinqua : logically with *potiundae*, grammatically with *spe*.

11. e re publica : *in accord with the interests of the state.* — **abscedi :** *impersonal.*

12. *exulatum*: supine. — *scivit*: from *scisco*. By a *plebis scitum* the people decreed that the exile was *iustum*, legal.

Chapter 4.

SIEGE OF CAPUA. CAVALRY SUPPLIED WITH SKIRMISHERS

1. *servitia*: abstract for concrete *servi*.
2. *Campanis*: people in Capua which is known also as *urbs Campana*.
3. *faciebant*: subject is *Campani*. — *laetum*: supply *Romanis*.
4. *arte*: opposed to *viribus*. — *septena*: seven *apiece*. — *quater-nos*: each four feet long, G. 335. R. 1; A. 425. — *prae-fixa*: with an iron tip such as is found on the spears of the light-armed troops. *prae* indicates that the point is meant.
5. *singulos*: *eos* is the object and *equites* the subject. Each cavalryman taking one of these trained him . . . — *esset*: subjunctive of indefinite repetition.
7. *ad coniectum*: *venire ad teli coniectum* = to come within reach or range of the weapon. — *velites*: the word means skirmishers who wore lighter armor. Here legionary soldiers were used for this purpose.

Chapters 5, 6.

BATTLE BEFORE THE WALLS OF CAPUA

1. *Hannibalem*: translate as a nominative, *Hannibal was drawn in different directions by his desire to seize the citadel of Tarentum and his anxiety to retain Capua*.
2. *tamen*: notwithstanding his *cura*. — *respectus*: concern for Capua. — *documento*: predicate dative. *Sure to be regarded as a proof of the consequences which resulted from a revolt from the Romans*. — *habuisset*: indirect question with *documento*. The direct would be *habuerit*, the future perfect.
3. *ad maturandum*: with *quam poterat aptissimus*. — *tamen*: *i.e.* notwithstanding the haste just described. This is strengthened by *tam raptim euntem*.
4. *Tifata*: easily seen from the train as one travels between

Rome and Naples, rising abruptly from the plain and near to Capua. — *circumsedentis*: *the besiegers*.

5. *adgressurus esset*: subjunctive of indirect question after *nuntiis*. — *eodem*: *tempore*. — *et illi*: *they also*; *et* = *etiam*. — *prae-buit*: *Romanis*.

7. *ut . . . ita*: *although . . . yet*. — *ne*: this clause depends on *partiti sunt*. — *aliquid*: we expect *quid* after *ne*, G. 315.

9. *non*: with *modo*; *solito* with *clamore*. — *ad*: *in addition to*. — *crepitu*: the beating of bronze vessels was supposed to drive away the evil influences which brought about the eclipse.

11. *Hannibal et Poeni*: in apposition with *vis*, but controlling the number of the verb. — *qua pulsa*: ablative absolute, = *et ea pulsa*. — *in ancipiti spe*: *ancipiti* agrees with both *spe* and *periculo*. *They were wavering between hope and fear, hope of breaking through into the camp, fear of being cut off from their own side*. — *spe*: refers to *perrumperet*, *periculo* to *intercluderetur*.

12. *primores centurionum*: = *primorum ordinum centuriones*, or *primos ordines*. There were three lines, *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*. The centurions of the third line were higher than those of the other lines. — *verti*: depends on *hortatur*; *that the affair was at the critical turn*.

14. *acies*: antecedent in the relative, *eam aciem quae*. — *Romanus*: singular for plural. — *ancipiti*: *twofold*.

15. *secundi hastati*: the second manipule of the *hastati* which formed the first line of the enemy. Each line had ten maniples and twenty centuries. — *iacturum*: *se iacturum esse*. — *in medios eos*: *into the midst of these, i.e. the enemy*.

16. *converterat*: *and the standard raised on high had attracted the attention of*.

17. *in unum*: *against him alone*.

Chapter 6.

1. *et*: corresponds to *et* in *et qui castris . . .* — *primi principis*: with *signum*. This stands for *primi manipuli principum*. — *pro*: *before and on the rampart*. — *transgredientes*: *fossam ac vallum*.

3. *impulsi*: *driven back*, the subject is *Campani Punicumque*

praesidium. — **Vulturnum**: which (now) leads to Vulturinus. Livy tells us, Book 25. 20, that in his day a city stood at the mouth of the Vulturnus river, replacing a fort built in this war; *porta fert* is due to *via fert* as the *via* passes through the *porta*.

4. **ballistis**: for throwing rocks and stones, *scorpiones* served the same purpose but were handled by one man. Catapults were generally used to throw spears and javelins.

5. **cui**: who when urging on his men was wounded in the upper part of his breast under the left shoulder. — **gaeso**: a Keltic word for a Gallic javelin of broad point.

6. **oppugnatione**: this must mean "of the camp"; see Chap. 5. — **recipere signa**: draw off his troops. — **obiecto**: shielding his rear by means of his cavalry.

7. **receptui**: the expression for sounding a retreat is *receptui canere*. *cani* is impersonal. — **ad utrumque**: defined by *ut et Campani . . . et ipse Hannibal*. — **profectum**: *esse*, impersonal, considering that enough had been accomplished to attain both objects, that, etc. — **Campani**: subject of *sentirent* supplied from *sentirent*.

8. **caesa**: *esse*, the subject is *octo milia*.

9. **inveni**: this is the principal verb of the sentence, the outline of which is *inveni nequaquam pugnae tantam molem pugnae, plusque pavoris . . . fuisse, cum . . . Numidae inrupissent . . . elephantis . . . stragem . . . fugam facerent, . . . ; fraudem . . . adiectam (esse) . . . immissis . . . qui . . . iuberent . . . quemque . . . fugere; sed eam . . . fraudem . . . cognitam (esse) . . . oppressamque (esse); elephantos . . . exactos (esse)*. — **inopinato**: an adverb.

11. **fraudem**: strategy. — **immissis**: *in castra*; the subject of this ablative absolute is found in the *qui . . . iuberent* clause. — **habitu**: dress, ablative of description. — **linguae**: genitive with *gnari*. — **verbis**: *in the name of the consuls*.

13. **utcumque**: however. — **Medix tuticus**: an Oscan title for the Latin *summus magistratus*.

14. **pupillo**: half-orphan, and so her ward, defining *eo*. Ordinarily the father would have performed this service. — **procurantem**: expiating a portent, *ostentum*, which had happened in the home, *familiare*. — **perventurum**: the subject is *summum quod esset imperium Capuae*.

15. *adgnoscentem*: agrees with *matrem*, and governs *nihil*. — *nē*: *truly*, an interjection used at the beginning of a sentence and before a personal or demonstrative pronoun.

16. *et ipsa*: *etiam ipsa*. — *sisti*: impersonal passive.

Chapter 7.

HANNIBAL PROPOSES TO SEEK ROME

1. *ceterum*: resumes the narrative after the story of Seppius Loesius. — *ut*: *when*. — *perrumpi*: impersonal.

2. *novi consules*: it is evident, however, from Chap. 1. 1 that these consuls were not to be sent to Capua.

3. *impetus*: *impulse*. — *semper cupitae*: see Book 22. 51, where Livy indicates, as he does here and in Book 30. 20. 7, that Hannibal had made a mistake not to seek Rome immediately after Cannae, This was the opinion of many in Livy's day, and later, and Juvenal. in Satire 7. 161, shows that the question was debated in the Roman schools of rhetoric. Recent scholars such as Mommsen and Dodge believe that Hannibal's actual course was the wiser. — *praetermissam*: *esse*, the infinitive depends on *fremebant* and *dissimulabat*; that the opportunity for attaining the object always desired had been neglected after the battle of Cannae, had been the general criticism of others, and he himself did not attempt to deny it.

4. *necopinato*: adjective with *pavore*. — *esse desperandum*: depends on the idea of thinking in *subiit animum*. — *posse*: depends on *esse desperandum*.

5. *omissuros*: this infinitive likewise goes back to *subiit animum*. — *divisissent*: for the future perfect of the direct discourse. — *daturos*: the subject is *utrumque*, which brings up *ambo imperatores Romanos aut alterum*. The logical subject is *utrumque infirmiore factum*.

7. *profectionem* . . . *abstracturam* (*esse*): depends on idea of saying in *adhortatione*.

8. *soluturos*: subject is *illos*, understood, i.e. *raise the siege*.

9. *subigi*: *to be brought up stream*, a poetic use.

10. *allatum est*: *word was brought*!t.

Chapter 8.

THE NEWS REACHES ROME

1. *id*: subject of *futurum (esse)*. The sentence runs thus, *priusquam fieret, cum Fulvius Flaccus scripsisset senatui Romam compertum (esse) ex transfugis id futurum esse*. — *Romam*: limit of motion.

2. *Asinae*: dative in apposition with *cui*, G. 349. 5.

3. *abscedi*: impersonal, as also the other infinitives, and with them explaining *flagitiosum (esse)*.

4. *ad Cannas*: closely with *victor*. — *victor*: in apposition with *qui*, *who*, though *victor at Cannae*, yet . . . — *eum*: subject of *cepisse*, an infinitive of exclamation. It is possible to take *spem* as subject of *cepisse* and *eum*, the object.

5. *liberandam*: for *solvendam*.

6. *utriusque*: defending Rome and besieging Capua, suggested in the context preceding. — *ad urbem*: *i.e.* in Rome.

7. *ita . . . ut*: *in such a way that*.

8. *utri*: dative of agent with *veniundum esset*, *which of the two*.

9. *collega . . . aegro*: ablative absolute. — *tribus*: we know from Chap. 5. 8 that these armies are those of Appius Claudius, Fulvius, and C. Nero, — *ad quindecim milia*: *to the number of fifteen thousand*, the object of *traducit*.

10. *Latina via*: the inland road from Rome to Capua, as compared with the Via Appia, which ran from Rome to Tarracina, then to Sinuessa, then inland to Casilinum, so the seacoast road. — *propter*: *near*.

11. *ut . . . esset*: depends directly on *praesidia contraherent*. — *cuique*: *municipio*. — *sua res publica*: *the defense of its own interests as a state*.

Chapter 9.

HANNIBAL MARCHES TO ROME

2. *Cales*: accusative. — *ducit*: *exercitum*, absolute use like *moveo*.

4. *tenuerat*: *Fulvius had been detained at the river Vulturnus*. The two reasons are expressed by an ablative absolute, *navibus*

incensis, and by a participle *comparantem* with its object *ratis*. — *materiae*: wood for building boats.

5. *per urbes*: modifies *expositis*. — *alius alium*: takes up the *milites* by partitive apposition and provides an object as well as a subject for the verb *hortabantur*. An alternative of *inter se*. — *gradum*: the expression *addere gradum* may mean the same as *gradum celerare*, or simply "step forward." — *iri*: impersonal, depending on *memor*.

6. *adfingentium*: *exaggerating the news by idle tales*.

7. *ploratus*: the two clauses are *non . . . solum ploratus exaudiebatur* and *sed matronae discurrunt*. — *verrentes*: *sweeping the altars with disheveled hair*, in token of abasement.

8. *supinas*: *with palms turned upward*.

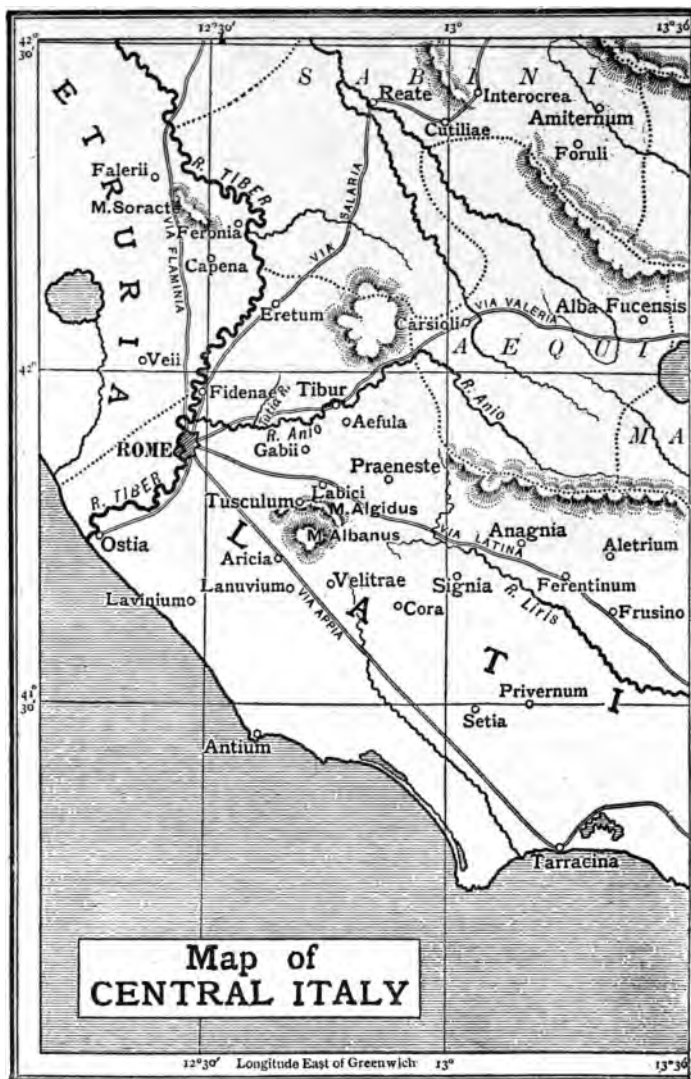
9. *quo*: *at any point*. — *usus est*: synonym of *opus est*, here with genitive, regularly with ablative. — *arce*: *i.e. capitolina*. The Capitoline Hill to the northeast of the Palatine has two peaks, that to the east, the *arx*, where the Church of Santa Maria in Ara Coeli is now located; and the other known as *Capitolium*, where the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus once stood. — *Aefulana*: an unidentified peak bearing the same relation to the city as Monte Albano. Some have read *Aesulana* from the town of Aesula near Tibur.

10. *venisset*: subjunctive in virtual indirect discourse, representing a future perfect indicative. The verb of thinking is implied in the *decernit*. — *imperium*: the *imperium* of a proconsul being military could not continue inside of the *pomerium*, hence special authority must be given by the senate and people.

12. *nec*: = *et non*. — *dextrorsus*: *dextro versus, turning to the right*. — *Pupinia*: a country district near Rome giving the name to the *tribus Pupinia*.

13. *eo*: with *maior* and *plures*. — *praecedentibus*: ablative absolute of cause.

Hannibal followed in general the line of the *Via Latina* in marching to Rome from Capua. There is, however, great uncertainty as to the actual route. Polybius does not give exact details. Livy is unreliable and contradictory, although giving a complete itinerary. Appian is vague. We may see the various towns and places mentioned on the map.



From Robert M. Henry's edition of Book XXVI



of Livy, Published by Edward Arnold.

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2

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Chapter 10.

HANNIBAL NEAR ROME. CONFUSION IN THE CITY

1. **porta Capena**: the Via Appia ran through this gate, which was in the Servian Wall. The present gate is San Sebastiano in the Aurelian Wall. — **media urbe**: directly through the city. — **Carinas Esquilias**: the section between the Caelian and Esquiline Hills. — **inde**: *at this place passing out of the city.*

2. **frequentem**: *in full numbers.*

3. **fluvium**: the river Anio, to the west of Rome, on the west or left bank of which Hannibal encamped. See Chap. 11. 1. — **ad portam Collinam**: toward the Colline gate as far as the temple of Hercules. — **unde proxime**: modifying *contemplabatur*, *he obtained a view of the walls and location of the city from the nearest possible point.*

4. **eum**: Hannibal.

5. **transfugas**: possibly those referred to in Book 23. 46. 6; although they numbered only 272, and the reference here is to greater numbers. — **ad**: adverbial when *mille* or *milia* precedes the hundreds, otherwise a preposition. — **Esquilias**: *to the Esquiline.*

6. **cavas**: *deep (enclosed) roads on every side.* — **ex arce**: with *vidissent*. — **clivo Publicio**: the ridge leading from the Aventine Hill to the Forum Boarium, plainly seen from the Capitoline Hill. — **decurrentis**: *agrees with quos.*

7. **effusura fuerit**: *would have rushed out*, G. 597. 5. — **pro**: *as if they were the enemy's.*

9. **cum imperio**: *military authority, i.e. martial law was declared.*

10. **diei**: depending on *id* supplied as antecedent of *quod*; *during the part of the day which remained.* The expression is adverbial and parallel to *nocte insequenti.*

Chapter 11.

HANNIBAL FOILED IN ATTEMPT AGAINST ROME

2. **esset**: subjunctive in relative clause of result. — **nullius . . . metu**: *fearing nothing less than the enemy.*

3. **recepissent**: subjunctive of indefinite repetition, so *ubi* = *whenever.*

4. **vox**: explained by the infinitive following. — **modo** . . . **modo**: at one time the inclination, at another the opportunity, was not granted.

5. **eius**: his hope. — **magna illa**: the important incident was this, the pronoun serves to bring forward the proposition which follows and which is directly introduced by *quod*.

6. **vēnisse**: was sold. — **nihil** . . . **pretio**: at no less price. — **ob id**: on this account, explained by what precedes, amounting to *quod in eo agro castra habebat*.

7. **id**: *visum (est)*. — **solī**: genitive with *emptorem*. — **inventum**: *esse*.

8. **his**: *duabus rebus*. — **Tutiam**: a little river, tributary of the Arno on its left bank. — **lucum Feroniae**: at the foot of Mt. Soracte. *Feronia* was an old Italian divinity of the spring. — **templum**: a consecrated place set off (*temno*) for religious purposes, here in apposition with *lucum*.

9. **pro copia**: here, according to their means. — **habebant**: with the auxiliary force of *habebant* the expression stands for *exornaverant*, but giving idea of continuance. — **aeris**: heaps of copper, which were cast down there so as to appease the divinity for their sacrilege. — **rudera**: from *rudus*, also *raudus*, originally meaning rude, unformed masses of copper once used for money, compare *aes rude*, so here *lumps of copper uncoined*.

10. **Coelius**: *Antipater*, see Introduction. — **iter** . . . **orditur**: and his line of march (to Eretum) led from Reate, etc., i.e. *Amiternum* was the first place, then *Cutilliae*, then *Reate*, then *Eretum*.

11. **ex Campania**: Livy is now showing how, according to *Coelius*, Hannibal reached *Amiternum* after leaving *Campania* and his starting place, *Capua*.

12. **ibi**: in this, explained by the *quod* clause. — **error**: uncertainty of opinion rests in this. — **brevis aevi**: between the events and *Coelius's* writing. — **isse**: i.e. (*eum*) *isse ea (via)*. — **tantum**: there is only this difference whether, etc.

Chapter 12.

HANNIBAL DESERTS CAPUA

1. **tantum**: (*pertinaciae*). Hannibal did not show so much perseverance in raising the siege as the Romans in pushing it.

2. **namque**: Hannibal did not return to Capua but went directly to Bruttium in southern Italy. — **incautos**: *Reginos*.

3. **per eos dies**: while Flaccus was at Rome. — **regressum**: *esse*.

4. **conloquia**: conversations between the garrison and besiegers.

5. **accessit**: *to this reason for discouragement was added*. — **sine fraude**: supply *id ei*, as a subject for *esset* and an antecedent for *qui*. The phrase *sine fraude* means *without injury*.

6. **metu**: with *continente*. — **deliquerant**: object is *maiora*. See Chap. 12. 5. — **quibus**: neuter. Note the construction with the impersonal *ignosci*. — **posset**: result.

7. **quem ad modum . . . ita**: *though . . . yet*; like the familiar *ut . . . ita*. — **in medium**: for the common interest.

8. **nobilitas**: abstract for concrete, so for *nobiles*. Note the number of the verb, a usage rare before Livy. — **magistratu**: *in summo magistratu*. See Chap. 6. 13. — **adiacisset**: characteristic subjunctive.

9. **patriae**: used of the city. See Chap. 8. 8.

10. **summa**: *the whole burden*. — **sociorum**: the people of Capua, the Campanians.

11. ii: this subject has *nō* verb, for the author has neglected the construction with which the sentence began by reason of the introduction of the sentence *quibus . . . temptando*, giving details beyond the simple relative sentence *quibus . . . incusabant*, apparently originally intended. Translate, *these addressed a letter to Hannibal not only of great independence but even of severity, in which they blamed him*. — **Capuam**: *traditam esse*, depending on *incusabant*.

14. **transisse**: supply *se*. — **sic**: explained by *coeundo* and *conferundo*. — **coeundo**: *cum hoste*. — **conferundo**: *encamping near the enemy*. — **temptando**: the asyndeton is between the expression *coeundo conferundoque* and *temptando*.

15. **in hanc sententiam**: closely with *conscrip̄tae*. — **professis**: *offering their services for this purpose*. Note *eam* agreeing with *operam* in place of a dative after *operam*. — **tempore**: *when they secured a favorable opportunity*. — **fames . . . faceret**: the two *cum* sentences are *cum ii . . . venissent*, and (*cum*) *famesque . . . faceret*. — **nulli non**: *for every one*.

16. *scortum*: neuter, but the natural gender asserts itself in *paratam esse*. — *transfugarum*: G. 372. 2.

17. *id*: accusative of inner object, taking the place of the genitive of the charge with the verb *arguere*, so with neuter pronouns. — *unum*: object of *arguere*. — *satis*: quite. — *veris*: by the facts. Note the plural. — *posci*: ordered (by *Fulvius*). — *fassus*: est.

18. *quod celebratur id*, the antecedent is subject of *additum est*, and explained by infinitive clause following. — *et*: = *etiam*, other *Numidians* also.

19. *novis*: the bearers of the letters are called *transfugae novi*.

Chapter 13.

DISMAY IN CAPUA

1. *concursum*: *populi* depends on this. This word is very commonly used with *fit*, so *fit concursus hominum*, a great rush of the people which thereupon took place, etc. — *consiliis*: abstract for concrete, public meetings. — *omnes*: object of *extracturos esse*. — *is timor*: = *eius rei timor*.

2. *ibi*: in *senatu*.

3. *negat*: note how this is continued by *nec, nec*. G. 445, note. — *facturi fuerint*: G. 597. 5. (a).

4. *eam*: do you think this will be (such) a surrender (as that) whereby we once gave over ourselves and our possessions to the Romans that we might obtain aid against the Samnites? Capua and Rome made a treaty in 343 B.C. before the first Samnite War.

5. *iam*: supply *e memoria excessit*, have you forgotten, with this also. — *praesidium*: supply *Romanum*. — *ad*: purpose, so as to show our despite for them.

6. *hoc*: the *e memoria excessit* is understood here also and *hoc* is subject of the verb. — *ad*: *quod* should be supplied before this, omitted possibly because of the nearness of another *quod*.

7. *contra*: this word indicates the change from the evidences of the hostility of the Campanians toward the Romans, to the evidences of a like feeling on the part of the Romans toward the Campanians. — *repetite*: *memoria*. — *cum*: although. — *alien-*

gena: agrees with *hostis*. — **et:** *and that enemy Hannibal*. — **omissis:** *disregarding everything*.

8. alterum annum: *now for a second year*. — **et ipsi:** *and that too although they themselves have endured*.

9. illud: *this, i.e. what follows*. The sentences which follow are arranged in pairs, often coördinate sentences, taking the place, however, of a dependent clause followed by a main clause. The *indictum* is thus set forth, *though Hannibal stormed their camp, yet they were not moved from the siege; although he crossed the Vulturius and burned the fields of the people of Cales, they were not at all turned aside, etc.*

11. eis: dative.

12. pergas: indefinite second person.

13. Roma circumsessa: this and the nouns following are the subject of *averterunt*. — **hinc prope:** exaggerated statement, *almost from here*.

14. iniuria: ablative. — **aliter:** *otherwise, i.e. than what is suggested in si data fortuna esset*. — **ne recusare quidem:** *not even shrank from death*. — **praeterquam . . . etiam:** *not only . . . but also*.

15. spectaculum: opposition to subject of *trahar*, *an object of exhibition*. — **cervicem:** regularly plural in Cicero.

16. oriundi: an adjective = *orti*, denoting remote origin. — **stirpis:** old nominative for *stirps*, as *plebis*. — **nedum:** *much less*.

17. quibus: with *in animo est*. *iis* is the antecedent, *for those of you who intend*. — **apud me:** *in my house*.

18. rogo . . . accenso: dative after *iniciant*. — **exanima:** from *exanimus* and not *exanimis*, the prose form.

Chapter 14.

SUICIDE OF TWENTY-SEVEN SENATORS. SURRENDER OF CAPUA

1. plures: *more listened than could carry out, etc.*

2. placabilem: with *clementiam*, *within reach of their prayers*.

3. quantum: the sentence runs thus, *alienatis, quantum facere potuerant, mentibus*.



From Robert M. Henry's edition of *Book XXVI*



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BOOK XXVII. CHAPTERS 40-51

The episode presented in this section sets forth the battle of the Metaurus River and the defeat of Hasdrubal. This brother of Hannibal had been in command in Spain and had managed to defeat Publius and Gnaeus Scipio, and there was prospect of the entire subjugation of Spain to Carthage. In 211 B.C. Publius Scipio was sent from Rome to command the army of Rome in Spain. The center of interest, therefore, after the fall of Capua is the Spanish campaign, which was carried on with renewed vigor. Hasdrubal, however, eludes Scipio and starts for Italy to join and aid his brother Hannibal. This great general was still successful in the face of his loss of prestige because of the abandonment of Capua, and the Roman general Marcellus was caught in an ambuscade and killed. The crisis of the war is at hand, for Hasdrubal passes rapidly over the Alps and threatens the Romans from the north. If the two great Carthaginian armies should unite, Rome's doom was sealed. Her last armies were in the field, her great commanders had perished, there was reason for great discouragement. Fortunately for Rome, the messengers of Hasdrubal to his brother Hannibal fell into the hands of the Romans. The consuls Gaius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius Salinator united their forces and surprised and overwhelmed Hasdrubal at the Metaurus River. This battle and the events leading up to it are presented in the closing chapters of Book 27.

Chapter 40.

DISCOURAGEMENT AT ROME. DISPOSITION OF ROMAN FORCES

1. **consules**: Gaius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius Salinator, consuls of 207 B.C. — **pariter**: *simultaneous*. — **simul recordantium**: the expression varies after the next *simul* which is followed by *cum illa angeret cura, while they called to mind the*

disasters, etc. . . . and while they were torn with anxiety = *cum simul recordarentur* . . . *simul illa angeret cura*.

2. *quos* . . . *fore deos*: a rhetorical question and so an infinitive construction in indirect discourse. — *utrobique*: in both parts, in two directions. — *extractam esse*: depending on idea of thinking in *angeret cura*.

3. *eam*: i.e. *Romana res*. — *erexisse*: *bella* is subject.

4. *ducibus*: Gnaeus and Publius Scipio. — *gesta*: virtually a substantive subject of *excepisse*.

6. *qui*: for *uter*. — *vicisset*: represents future perfect of direct discourse.

7. *et*: *etiam*. — *proximus*: the preceding year also.

9. *meritum*: they have deserved that I rejoice at their defeat. — *etsi*: = *si*.

10. *Larinatis*: adjective of Larinium, the name of a town in Samnium.

13. *obvius fuit*: = *occurrit*. — *electa*: when thousands and hundreds are combined the participle is regularly neuter when it comes first.

Chapter 41.

SKIRMISHES BETWEEN HANNIBAL AND THE ROMANS

2. *consul*: Gaius Claudius Nero.

4. *nudi*: explained by the *quod* clause.

6. *ingenio hostis*: the *Punica fraude*, Book 22. 16. 5. — *quo minus*: correlative is lacking, but this can be readily supplied from the context, e.g. "with so much more confidence in the result, by as much as . . ." — *aversis vallibus*: i.e. on the other side of the hills.

8. *et*: corresponds with *que*.

10. *pecorum modo*: like sheep. — *incompositos*: in disorder, agreeing with *eos* understood, the subject of *fudisse*.

Chapter 42.

BRIEF BATTLE. HANNIBAL ABANDONS HIS CAMP

2. *ut* . . . *ita*: according as . . . so. — *crescit*: increases in violence by the arrival of fresh troops, and in extent by the number of men engaged in the battle.

3. *pugnantis*: object of *instruxisset*, i.e. *his troops while fighting*.

6. *transversa*: *from the side*, in place of an adverb. — *secundis collibus*: *down the slope of the hills*, an expression made on the analogy of *secundo flumine*, as opposed to *adverso flumine*, and *adversa ripa*.

9. *insequentibus . . . diebus*: *on several successive days following*. — *portis*: i.e. of the enemy's camp.

10. *quae pars*: i.e. *ea parte castrorum quae*, the *pars castrorum* is incorporated in the relative sentence. — *et*: connects *ignibus tabernaculisque* and *Numidis paucis*. — *ostenderent*: purpose.

11. *hostes*: governed by *frustrati*.

Chapters 43, 44, 45.

CLAUDIUS NERO MARCHES AGAINST HASDRUBAL

2. *cedentem*: retiring to Metapontum.

3. *implicantes*: *endeavoring to confuse*. Note the force of the present.

4. *cum*: the preposition. — *signatis*: here for *signatae*, i.e. without the seal being broken. — *traduntur*: subject is *quattuor Galli equites, duo Numidae*.

6. *provinciae*: with *finibus*, which is local without *in*.

7. *audendum*: *esse*, depending on *ratus*, the subject is *aliquid improvisum, inopinatum*. — *quod coeptum . . . perpetratum*: the undertaking of which . . . and the accomplishing of the same.

9. *Narniam*: in Umbria on the Nar, a tributary of the Tiber. This force was to serve in case of an emergency. See Chap. 50. 6.

10. *Praemissi*: supply *nuntii*: here with force of a verb of command and followed by *ut* clauses representing the commands.

Chapter 44.

1. *conlegam*: Marcus Livius Salinator. — *biennio*: an error, as it is now 207 and Hannibal's march to Rome was in 211. See Book 26. 9-11. — *animis*: dative with *constabat*. — *quo*: the ante-

cedent is the thought in *ex eventu famam habiturum*. — **famam**: *i.e.* *bonam* or *malam*. — **habiturum**: subject is *iter*.

2. **castra**: subject of *relicta esse*. The infinitives following depend on verbs of saying implied in the preceding sentence. — **cui**: antecedent is *exercitu*. The dative or *de* with the ablative follows *detrahere* in this sense of "withdraw." — **nulla alia re**: we should expect *nulla re tam tuta, quam errore*, or *errore tutiora quam ulla alia re* (Friedersdorff).

4. **quid futurum**: *esse*. — **si id palam fiat**: *if this should become known*. — **praedae**: with *relicta*, dative of the object, *left as booty for him*.

5. **veteres . . . terrebant**: this is the statement of the historian breaking for one sentence the indirect narration. — **accidisse**: depending on idea of thinking in *terrebant*.

6. **genitum**: *esse*. — **ducibus**: the two Scipios defeated in Spain, Book 25. 34.

8. **in iis locis**: the Alps. — **hunc**: Hasdrubal. — **ille**: Hannibal. — **quibus**: (*in*) *quibus*.

9. **quem**: (*cum eo*) *quem*. — **elusisset**: Book 26. 17. 4-15.

10. **omnia**: *i.e.* *ducebant omnia praesidia hostium maiora*. *They magnified all the forces of the enemy, while their own they belittled, since fear always puts the worst construction upon everything.*

Chapter 45.

1. **detegi**: subject is *consilium*. — **tutum esset**: *detegi consilium* is the subject. — **paucis**: *verbis*.

2. **in speciem**: set off against *re ipsa*.

3. **bellum**: incorporated in the relative sentence. The expression runs thus: *eo* (= *ad id bellum*) *ad quod*. — **collega**: subject of *projectus sit*. — **ipsi si**: begin the sentence at this point, the outline of which is *ipsi si addiderint eo* (= *ad id bellum*) *ad quod collega non . . . projectus sit, rem omnem inclinatoros*.

4. **auditum**: agreeing with *advenisse* and with it forming the subject of *facturum* (*esse*). *Only the news that another consul and another army had come, etc.*

6. **traxisse**: *i.e.* *drawn after itself, so decided*. — **celebretur**: *is*

attended. The crowds come to meet them along their line of march. — *omnia: loca.*

7. *instructa: lined.* — *repositam esse:* a brief return to indirect discourse depending on verb of saying in *appellabant.*

8. *faustum:* note the enumerative asyndeton where the three wishes are expressed. — *matura: early, speedy.* — *ex hostibus victoria:* supply a participle, *e.g. lata.* — *ipsi:* the subject is *virī mulieresque* in § 7. — *votorum:* *that they might be compelled to pay the vows.* The genitive of the penalty. — *iis: i.e. the soldiers.*

9. *quem ad modum . . . ita: = ut . . . ita.* — *victoria: ablative.*

10. *benigne cumulata:* the expression indicates the spirit of the giver and the abundance of the gifts, *generously given and provided in abundance.*

11. *certare: vied with one another.*

12. *ingredi: Claudium* is subject. — *visum est: Livio.*

Chapter 46.

COUNCIL BEFORE BATTLE

1. *tessera:* the watchword written on a little wooden tablet (*tessera*) which was sent among the officers and soldiers on duty, so, *tessera data.* By this same method directions and orders were sent about the camp.

2. *opus esse:* historical infinitive.

3. *ultra: without being asked.* — *quos:* both *militibus* and *iuvenibus* are the antecedents. — *nomina:* giving their names for enrollment. — *conscripterat:* subject is *Nero.*

5. *quisque:* in partitive and explanatory apposition with the subject of *excipiuntur*, represented by *abducti.* Translate, *individually, severally.* — *et: etiam.*

6. *transitum: i.e. of the enemy.* — *agmen: i.e. hostis.*

7. *ut: tempus pugnae differretur.*

8. *summa ope:* in place of *summopere.*

9. *errore:* with *torpentem.* — *Hannibalem: nec adgredi nec intendisse,* part of Nero's statement.

11. *dandum: esse.* — *abutendum: take advantage of the mistake.* Note the meaning of the verb.

Chapter 47.

HASDRUBAL IS SUSPICIOUS AND AVOIDS BATTLE

1. *hostes*: the Carthaginians. — *attulit*: the subject is the sentence *quod Hasdrubal . . . notavit*, i.e. *the fact that Hasdrubal*, etc. — *vetera*: the shields of Claudius' soldiers had not been polished as yet after the hurried march, and Hasdrubal thought he saw old shields. The forced march had also affected the mules, which appeared scrawny, because overtired. — *solita*: i.e. *multitudine*, the usual number.

2. *enim*: goes back to *moram attulit*, since the reason is given for the delay. — *cecinit*: subject is *Hasdrubal*, = *cani iubet*; the technical expression is *receptui canere*. — *aquabantur*: *Romani* is subject.

3. *semel bisne*: *whether once or twice*. — *canat*: *signum*, subject.

4. *castra nihil aucta*: *the fact that the camp was in no way enlarged*. — *bina*: distributives are used with nouns regularly in the plural (*pluralia tantum*), G. 97. 3. — *latius*: *over a wider space than before*. — *tenderetur*: = *tentoria essent*. The expression originally is *tentoria tendere*, which ultimately means "encamp," finally *tendere* is used alone.

5. *illud*: stands for *quod . . . cecinisse*. — *signum*: subject of *cecinnisse*. — *et*: connects *duos consules esse* and *cura*. — *cura*: *anxiety as to how one escaped from Hannibal troubled him*.

6. *id*: explained by *Hannibalem elusum esse*. — *tantae rei*: literally *by deception in such an important matter*. — *collata*: *to the camp of which his own had been a neighbor*.

7. *ausum*: *esse, Hannibalem* is the subject. The expression depends on the idea of thinking implied in what precedes. — *vereri*: i.e. *Hasdrubal feared*, the historical infinitive. — *perditis rebus*: ablative absolute. — *auxilium*: in apposition with *ipse*.

8. *signa ferri*: = *moveri*.

9. *duces*: here the guides, *duces itineris*. — *infrequentia*: *prolepsis*.

10. *dum*: *until*. — *ripa*: a local ablative, after analogy of *via*; *along the bank*. — *cum*: the conjunction. — *errore*: *in his wan-*

dering. — *iter revolvens*: *turning back on his road.* — *transiturus erat*: *he was ready to cross.*

11. *quantum*: *quanto longius.*

Chapters 48, 49.

THE BATTLE OF THE METAURUS RIVER

3. *modo*: ablative of *modus*, with *instructis*. — *ad conserendum*: *for beginning the contest at once.*

4. *praetori*: Porcius. — *data*: *est.*

6. *ibi*: pronominal in force, = *in iis* and explained by *in vetere milite.*

7. *longior quam latior*: G. 299; A. 292.

8. *Ea frons*: the *dextrum cornu*, § 6. — *dextra acies*: *i.e. Romanorum.* — *eminens*: the line of the Romans was so long that it extended beyond that of the enemy and so was not engaged. — *arcebat*: *impedimento erat.* — *adgrederentur*: object is *Gallos.*

10. *in armis*: with *durum.* — *versi*: *sunt, were driven.*

11. *regi*: historical infinitive. — *quorum*: = *utrorum.*

12. *quid*: *for what purpose.*

13. *stationem segnem*: *where he saw they would hold, a position of no action, statio* as opposed to *pugna.*

14. *post aciem*: *Romanam.* — *hostibus . . . inopinantibus*: ablative absolute. — *ostendissent*: *i.e. the soldiers of Claudius.* — *in terga*: *hostium.*

16. *pars*: as plural, subject of *aberant* and with it *dilapsi stratique* agrees, and *corpora* is in apposition. The effect of this is modified somewhat by the introduction of the *qui aderant* clause.

17. *hiantes*: *gasping for breath.*

Chapter 49.

1. *fabrile scalprum*: *a carpenter's chisel.* — *magister*: the other term is *rector.*

2. *sprevisissent*: subjunctive of indefinite repetition. — *cum . . . tum*: *both . . . and.*

3. *sustinuit*: explained by *hortando . . . obeundo.*

4. *fortuna*: *when fortune favored the enemy (hostium).*

5. *reddita*: *Poenis*. A defeat equal to that at Cannae, whether in the death of the general or in the loss of the army, seemed to have been brought in turn upon the Carthaginians.

6. *capta*: note the agreement here with a different order; the masculine might be used. — *alia*: *i.e.* outside of the prisoners.

Chapters 50, 51.

THE NEWS IS TAKEN TO ROME

1. *inde*: *i.e.* from his camp.

2. *frequentia*: was attended by fewer numbers, referring to the crowds that flocked about him when marching against the enemy. Chap. 45. 4. — *compotes mentium*: retained their senses.

3. *nam*: the thought is, *this is no exaggeration, for no words can depict these scenes of joy, for, etc.* — *habitu*: as Friedersdorff points out, we should expect the noun *habitus* to be placed in the following sentences which would assume the form of indirect questions, *nec quo habitu incerta expectatione eventus civitas fuerit*. It is impossible to describe or relate the state of mind of the people in Rome, either when the city was doubtful as to the result or when they received the news of victory. — *incerta*: nominative with *civitas*. — *nec . . . nec*: these take up the negative *neuter*. — *eventus*: genitive. — *quo*: *i.e.* *quo habitu animi*.

5. *supplicii*: for *supplicationibus*, an archaic use possibly obtained by Livy from the old annalists whom he used as authorities, so *tempestas* for *tempus*, Book 26. 11. 8, *satias* for *satietas*, Book 27. 49. 8.

6. *castra*: see Chap. 43. 9, located near Narnia on the Via Flaminia.

7. *auribus quam animis*: heard rather than believed. — *ut maius*: as too great. — *biduo*: two days before.

8. *L. Manlio*: commander of the camp at Narnia.

9. *praetoris urbani* who presided in the absence of the consul was on his tribunal in the Forum; the senate hastened to meet him, but the praetor, not desiring to read the letter in the Forum but in the Curia, went thither with the messenger, followed by the senate and the crowd. — *rostris*: the rostra was in the Forum near the *comitium* and not far from the *curia*.

10. **summoti**: technical word for the action of the lictors. — **dispensari**: the figure is the distribution of money *pecuniam dispensare*. — **laetitia**: subject of *potuit*. — **eius**: *laetitiae*, who could not control their joy, who were overpowered by their joy.

11. **gaudium**: the verb is *erat* from the following *futura erat*.

Chapter 51.

1. **legatos**: messengers sent by the consuls. — **aetas**: note *obvii* agreeing with this singular collective noun, a usage common in Livy, not in Cicero, and very rare in Caesar. The singular is carried along in the *primus quisque* which is explained on the theory of partitive apposition; *each one desiring to be the first to receive the joyful news*. — **currere** *obvii*: *ran to meet*.

2. **continens**: *unbroken column*.

3. **ipsos**: *legatos*.

4. **porro**: *to one after another*. This idea of transfer of the news is shown also by the imperfect.

5. **summota turba**: *ablative absolute*.

9. **amplissima veste**: *in their handsomest clothes*. — **statum**: the business and financial condition.

11. **servatum**: *cum cura*.

12. In these brief closing sections Hannibal's feeling is set forth in terms so meager as to be in decided contrast to the elaborate description of the scenes of joy at Rome.

BOOK XXX. CHAPTERS 29-37

After the battle of the Metaurus River the center of interest is transferred to Spain again. Here Publius Scipio waged war successfully and finally reconquered the country. After his success in Spain he returned to Rome and was elected consul. He desired to have Africa as his province, although Q. Fabius Maximus opposed his ambition. He was given Sicily, however, as his province, with the permission to cross into Africa if it seemed to the advantage of the state to do so. This is a summary of the events depicted in Book 28. The events of the war as told in the following book center mainly about Publius Scipio, first in Sicily, then in Africa, where the scene was being laid for the last act of the drama in the career of Hannibal. Masinissa, the king of the Massylii, does valiant service for the Romans. Book 30 narrates Scipio's many victories over the Carthaginians, Syphax, king of Numidia, and Hasdrubal. Hannibal is summoned to Africa to aid his country, now in desperate straits. After sixteen years in Italy, Hannibal abandons that land and prepares to make his last stand in Africa. He even attempts to make peace, negotiating with Scipio in person, but is unsuccessful. Then follow the battle of Zama, 202 B.C., and the defeat of the great Carthaginian general. It is this episode which is described in the chapters of this book which have been selected.

Chapters 29, 30, 31.

HANNIBAL'S CONFERENCE WITH SCIPIO

1. *adferentium*: substantive use depending on *nuntiis*.
2. *traditos . . . iussos*: agreeing with *eos* and subject of *circumduci* which depends on *iussit*. — *qua vellent*: with *circumduci*.

3. **satin**: = *satisne*, familiar to colloquial language, to be taken with *per commodum*.

4. **profecto**: *certainly not conceived without reason*, as Hannibal thought.

5. **et**: corresponds to *et* before *adventu*. — **indutias**: the Carthaginians had arranged an armistice so as to gain time until Hannibal should return, and as soon as he was near at hand had violated the agreement. — **quam**: *i.e. si integer peteret pacem, aequiora impetrari posse quam si victus peteret*. — **integer**: = *invictus*.

6. **id**: the construction is irregular, for we should expect some expression which the indirect question should follow like *incertum est*, or *mihi parum compertum est*, followed by a *nam* with *neutrum . . . habeo*. — **neutrum . . . habeo**: abridged expression for *non habeo, cur alterum utrum affirmem*.

7. **primo**: *a first battle*, between Hannibal and Scipio to which Zama would be the second. The implication is that this unsuccessful contest referred to by Valerius Antias influenced Hannibal in suing for peace.

9. **cum . . . tum**: *i.e. loco opportuno cum ad cetera tum quod*.

10. **a**: *at a distance of*. — **quattuor milibus**: supply *passuum*. — **aquationis**: predicate genitive of description.

Chapter 30.

1. **armatis**: the armed escort. — **singulis**: each with an interpreter.

3. **tum**: supply *dixit*. — **primus**: who first waged war against the Roman people. This is of course strikingly inexact unless we understand him as saying that he was the first, whether Carthaginian or Roman, to make an attack. — **victoriam**: Hannibal does not mean in individual battles but of the war in general. — **is**: in apposition to the subject of *venirem*, *i.e.* such an one as I have described. — **ultro**: *voluntarily*.

4. **fuerit**: future perfect, the subjects are *Hannibalem . . . cessisse*, and *te . . . finem imposuisse*. Note the parallelism with the preceding sentence.

5. **casus**: genitive case with *ludibrium*. — **cum**: both are conjunctions. Note the asyndeton. — **patre . . . consule**: ablative absolute. — **eodem . . . imperatore**: ablative absolute.

6. **Optimum . . . fuerat**: *i.e.* particularly before the opening of the Second Punic War. Unreal condition, for *datam esse* stands for *si data esset*. — **vos . . . et nos**: hardly logical for *patres vestri, patres nostri*. — **neque**: G. 480. 3. N. 4.

8. **aliena**: *e.g.* Sicily, Sardinia, Spain. — **adpetivimus**: the subject includes Romans and Carthaginians. — **de nostris**: explained by what follows. — **et vos**: corresponds to *et nos*.

9. **quod . . . optaretis**: this is in apposition to *in meliore . . . agitur*. In translating begin with *de pace agitur* — *peace is being considered at a time when you have the advantage, a circumstance which we should most earnestly object to and you should above all desire: abominaremur and optaretis* are subjunctive because of the conditional force, inasmuch as a condition is implied. — **Agimus**: *i.e.* Hannibal and Scipio. — **ei**: introducing the antecedent just before the relative and emphasizing the subject of the verb. *We are treating of peace, men to whom, etc.* — **et qui**: subject of *egerimus*. = *et quorum civitates, quodcumque egerimus ratum habiturae sunt*.

10. **aetas**: supply *erudiit*.

11. **ferociora utraque**: neuter plural in apposition to *adulescentiam* and *felicitem*. — **quietis consiliis**: dative, *than is needed for peaceful counsels*. — **Non temere**: *not readily*, almost equal to *non facile*.

12. **vixdum**: modifying *militari aetate*, so = *te iuvenem*. — **persecutus**: *avenging*.

13. **mortem**: in Spain.

14. **consul creatus**: not exact, for Scipio was not consul but proconsul when in 204 he went to Africa, Chap. 20. 8. — **ceteris**: *when others had too little courage*. — **duobus**: see Chap. 28. 1; also Book 29. 34; 30. 8. — **animus**: *i.e. tuus*.

16. **ut**: *although*. — **aliorum**: neuter. — **satis documenti**: *sufficient warning*.

17. **fratribus**: Hasdrubal and Mago. — **quibus**: antecedent *ea*. — **pro mea**: *urbe*.

19. **haec**: *pax*. — **illa**: *victoria*. — **ne dederis**: prohibition = *noli dare*.

20. *cum . . . tum*: *non solum . . . sed etiam*. — *Martem belli*: here Mars stands for the fortune of war or the result of the war, which is uncertain (*communis*). — *respondent*: *ad spem*. See Book 9. 15, 3 and Book 28. 6. 8; *haudquaquam ad spem eventus respondit*.

21. *Non*: *i.e. non adieceris tantum gloriae, ad id gloriae quod*. — *adieceris*: fut. perf. for simple future.

22. *tunc*: opposed to *in pace*, *i.e.* in the other case, *i.e.* in war. Note how Livy repeats the sentiment of section 19, *haec in tua, illa in deorum manu est*.

23. *M. Atilius*: Regulus, consul 267 B.C. and 256 B.C. — *effertentem se*: *carrying herself proudly*; the figure of a prancing horse.

24. *non qui*: *i.e. non eius qui*. — *multam irrogemus*: *place upon ourselves the fine*.

26. *externa etiam*: *also foreign nations, i.e. outside of Italy*.

27. *expectatam*: while waiting for the ratification of the pending peace. We must remember that Livy has placed these words in the mouth of Hannibal. — *multum*: with *pertinet*. — *ad fidem*: *in respect to the fidelity with which peace is observed*.

28. *quoque*: supporting Hannibal's statement. — *non nihil*: adverbial expression, *to some extent, in some measure*. — *etiam*: *with ob hoc*.

30. *ne paeniteret*: depends on *praestiti*, brought it to pass. — *quoad*: *until*. — *dei*: as well as *men*, — because of his continued success.

Chapter 31.

1. *adversus*: in place of *ad*, with *respondit*. — *praesentem*: *already existing*.

2. *id*: the fact just stated; namely, the violation of the truce by the Carthaginians, who expected Hannibal.

3. *onere*: see Chap. 16. 11 and 12 for the conditions referred to. — *tunc*: goes back to *condicionibus superioribus*. — *praemia*: *as rewards*. — *quibus*: antecedent is *indigni*.

4. *priores*: *i.e. quam vestri, bellum fecerunt* so after *fecimus bellum* supply *priores quam vos*. — *tunc*: at the beginning of the First Punic War, suggested in the first part of the preceding sentence, and *nunc* refers to the close. — *nobis induerunt*: *have caused us to take up arms*.

5. *vos lacessisse*: depends on both verbs following.
6. *agimus*: the subject is general.
8. *manu consertum*: *almost with a hand to hand fight*, agrees with *te*, so also *restitantem* and *tergiversantem*.
9. *quid*: subject of *adicitur*. — *ad ea, in quae*: *ad eas condiciones in quas*. — *multa*: *a penalty*. — *navium*: *for the seizure of our ships*. — *est quod*: *I shall have something*.
10. *infecta*: *when peace was not accomplished*. Note the negative force of the *in*.

Chapters 32, 33, 34, 35.

THE BATTLE OF ZAMA

1. *pronuntiant*: *i.e. ut expedirent arma animosque*. — *victores*: in apposition with subject of *expedirent*, = *ut victores essent*.
2. *par*: *i.e. periculum, par praemio victorum fore eis*; *i.e. the dangers will be equal to the reward of the victors, for those who are defeated*.
3. *patebat*: indicative, as stated by Livy. — *supremo auxilio*: ablative absolute with *effuso* = *si effusum foret*.
5. *miscebant*: *aroused various emotions in their minds*.
6. *sua cuique*: *he related to each his own honors*. — *venerat*: *when he came to a soldier distinguished by the memory of some battle*.
7. *Scipio*: supply *referebat*. — *confessionem*: explained by *quod*. — *neque non petere potuissent*: *i.e. they were compelled to seek for peace on account of fear, and yet could not abide by the terms of peace because of their inborn perfidy*. — *in ea*: *i.e. in ea pace*. — *animis*: depends on *insita*.
8. *Ad hoc*: = *praeterea, in addition to this*. — *conloquium*: object of *flectit*. — *liberum*: *open to him to represent in any way he wished*.
9. *ominatur*: *he cites as good omen the fact that*. — *ea*: (*auspicia*) governed by *portendisse*.
11. *Celsus*: with *corpore, with body erect*.

Chapter 33.

1. *quamque*: *i.e. cohortem*. He did not draw up each cohort in an undivided line as when a number of maniples are grouped

together in cohorts, but with spaces between the maniples. We must keep in mind the character of the Roman line of battle. There were three lines; first, the *hastati*, then the *principes* and then the *triarii*. Each of these was divided into ten *manipuli*, and a number of *velites* or skirmishers were attached to each company. Scipio arranged that not merely between two cohorts was there space, but between the three maniples of the cohort, and this space ran through the entire arrangement of the three lines, although usually the *principes* stood in the intervals back of the *hastati*. Translate, *moreover he did not arrange the cohorts in continuous line each before its own standards, but he separated all the maniples with intervals between them*. In battle the standards, *signa*, are in the last line of the maniples, so that the soldiers (the *hastati* and *principes*) fight before the standards. *qua*: adverb referring to *spatium*. — *acti*: *i.e. ab hostibus*.

2. *cuius*: depending on *opera*. — *legati*: apposition to *cuius*.

3. *ab*: local, *i.e. on the left side*. — *velitibus*: this term was used in Livy's day, so that it was necessary to explain. — *ea*: agreeing with *armatura*. — *directos*: drawn up in line of battle. — *antesignanis*: with *applicantes se*. — *ancipitia*: *coming from both sides*.

4. *ad terrorem*: expressing purpose, *ut terrorem inicerent*.

6. *et ipse*: as well as Scipio.

10. *impotenti*: *tyrannical*, agreeing with *dominatu*. — *terret*: *i.e. Hannibal*.

11. *medium*: *nothing intermediate is offered for their fears or hopes, i.e. nothing between excidium on the one hand and imperium on the other*. — *ostentatur*: singular as agreeing with the last subject *nihil*.

12. *cum maxime*: *at the very time when* — *pleraque*: adverb, *in many instances*.

13. *aciem*: *i.e. of the Carthaginians*; because of the flight of the Numidian cavalry.

15. *enim*: introducing a clause showing why the elephants were wounded. — *in ancipites*: *elephantos*, the elephants exposed to attack on both sides.

16. *quoque*: as well as those mentioned in § 13.

Chapter 34.

1. *par*: *i.e.* *pedes*. — *ad hoc*: *besides*. — *parva*: supply *erant*. — *clamor*: supply *erat*. — *illis*: the Carthaginians. — *ut*: *as was natural*.

2. *discrepantibus*: ablative absolute. — *Romana*: stands for *Romanorum*, as is shown by the fact that *incumbentium* agrees with this implied genitive. — *armorum*: parallel with *suo*. — *ilinc*: on the side of the Carthaginians.

3. *Ala*: *with their shoulders*. — *gradu inlato*: *advancing upon the enemy who had been pushed back, they proceeded a considerable distance as if no one was resisting their progress*.

4. *et*: *etiam*, *the rear also pushing on those in front*. — *quod*: *id quod*.

5. *secunda acies*: subject of *sustinebant*, which gets its number from *Afri et Carthaginienses*. — *resistentes*: with *primos*, and equivalent to *si pertinaciter resisterent*.

6. *igitur*: *accordingly*. — *caedere*: historical infinitive.

7. *accepere*: subject is *Carthaginienses*.

9. *transitus*: *i.e.* for the Romans. — *tabem sanguinis*: *sea of blood*.

11. *canere*: supply *cornicines*.

12. *pares*: agrees with *hostes*; *i.e.* *men equal to them*.

13. *acie*: of the *Carthaginienses*.

Chapter 35.

1. *pulsos*: with *equites*.

5. *instruxisse*: *eum* to be supplied, as subject.

6. *elephantos*: supply *instruxisse*. — *ponerent*: subjunctive, as the thought of Hannibal.

8. *si nihil aliud*: supply *facerent*. — *ubi*: refers to *milites* which follows, so = *in quibus*.

9. *pares*: *i.e.* equal to the Romans.

10. *velut*: with *edito ultimo virtutis opere*.

Chapters 36, 37.

SCIPIO ARRANGES TERMS OF PEACE

2. *rostratis*: *navibus*, ships of war opposed to *onerariis*.

4. *abarat*: *a Carthagine*.

6. **se**: Scipio, suggested in *responsum datum*, for *responsum dedit*. — **noscendi**: *eum situm*. — **et**: *etiam*.

7. **procedentibus**: *Scipioni et Octavio*.

8. **Saturnalibus**: December 17–19. — **circumdatis**: ablative absolute, standing for a causal sentence.

10. **temporis**: supply *esset*. — **obsidio**: belongs in both sentences *quanta res esset* and *quam longi temporis esset*. — **Scipionem**: the sentence is *Scipionem expectatio . . . sollicitaret*.

Chapter 37.

2. **tenerent**: the sentence is *urbes agrosque quae ante bellum tenuissent et eisdem finibus quibus tenuissent tenerent*. — **faceret**: another stipulation, so *eo die* is for the direct *hodie*.

5. **talentum**: the usual form of the genitive in words denoting coins and measures. A talent of silver amounted to a little over \$1100.

6. **ne**: as with a *darent* implied and continued by *neu*. — **ita**: *under these terms*.

7. **inquieta**: restless in view of such terms and yet unable to continue the war.

8. **species**: *manifestation, occurrence*. — **militaris vir**: Hannibal as a man of war.

9. **novem annorum**: genitive of quality, supply *puer*.

10. **nec iniqua**: *fair*.

11. **adversantibus**: ablative absolute, the subject of which is *qui arguerentur*. — **arguerentur**: subjunctive of repetition, *i.e. those who were charged with taking the property*.

12. **homines**: those who had manned the ships and had been sold as slaves. — **luere**: *replace*. — **Antiochum**: *i.e. Antiochus III, king of Syria*.

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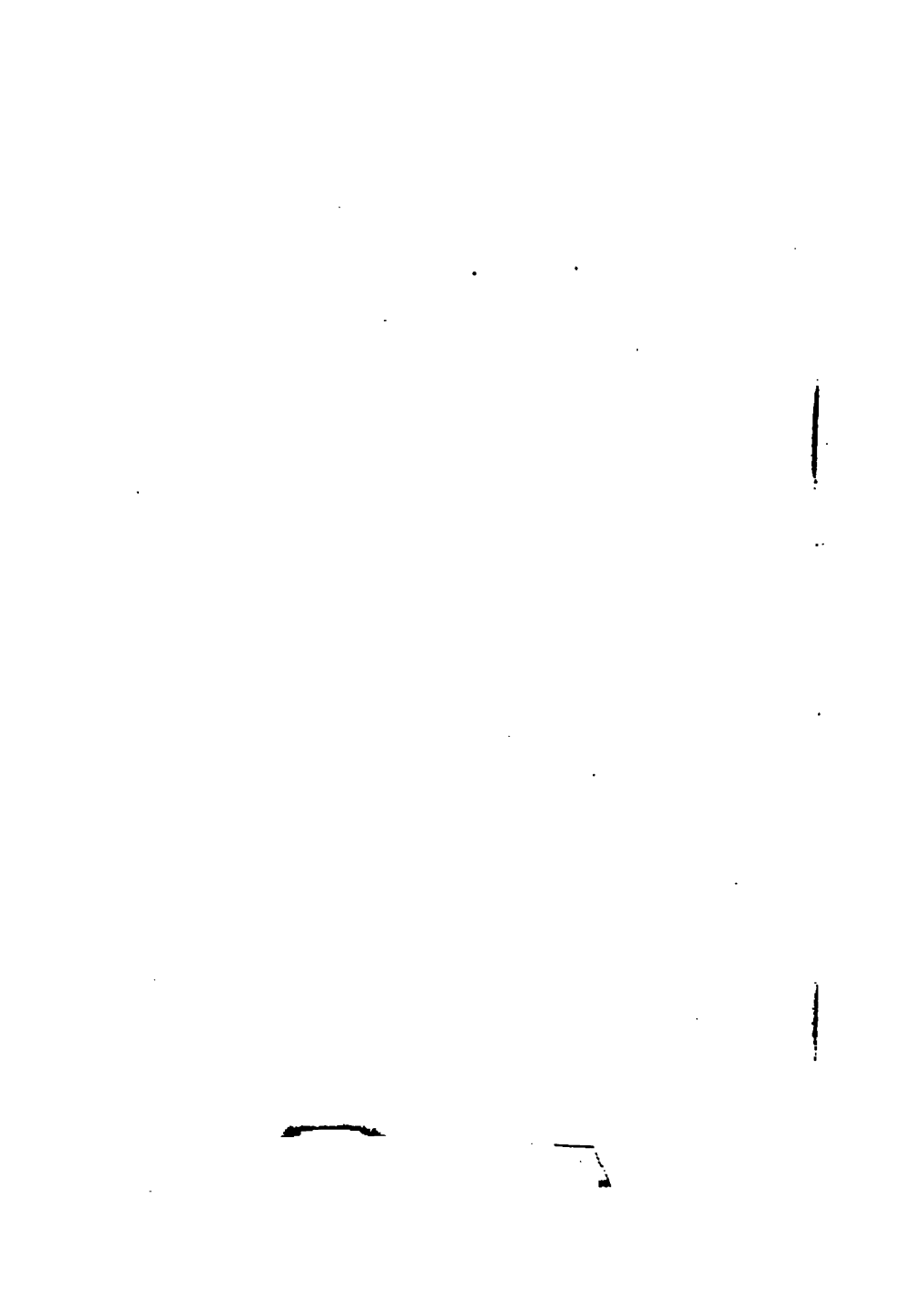
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